

1998

Daniel Defoe's "An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions": A Critical Edition.

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DANIEL DEFOE'S *AN ESSAY ON THE HISTORY
AND REALITY OF
APPARITIONS: A CRITICAL EDITION*
VOLUME I

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

by
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This work is dedicated to the memory of
Dr. Josephine Roberts
Scholar, Mentor, and Friend

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a scholarly edition of Daniel Defoe's Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions, which was published in 1727 and has never been re-edited since his death in 1731. It poses several interesting problems for both the literary critic and bibliographer.

This edition is challenging for the bibliographer because, initially, this work was published anonymously. The second edition appeared with the addition of "by Andrew Moreton, Esq." as author. A section of my introduction attributes this work to Defoe by using contemporary theory and methods. Defoe scholars have had a problem attributing works to Defoe. Instead estimating conservatively, they have had a tendency to identify almost any Eighteenth Century anonymous publication as by Defoe. The amount of works attributed to Defoe is staggering. Recent scholarship focuses on discarding all works formerly identified as Defoe's that are clearly not and organizes guidelines on how these materials should be reviewed. I work to establish this book as by Defoe as definitively as possible through strict bibliographic research, both internal and external.

The supernatural interests the literary critic. Defoe published four non-fiction works on the occult. Part of my introduction is targeted at establishing how Defoe situated himself in the raging debate concerning apparitions, and why

undermining superstition while attempting to legitimize the existence of apparitions to the sensible, sober, and religious faction of the reading public. He was caught between Hobbesian philosophy and the Cambridge Platonists trying to establish a reasonable, thoughtful explanation for the existence of apparitions and while maintaining his strong belief in God and providence. Defoe centers himself firmly in Eighteenth Century philosophy by his discussions on how guilt can effect the mind, which is a new facet to the existing arguments.

Overall, my dissertation is an editorial piece. I have done substantial research for the endnotes to bring modern readers as close to the knowledge that contemporary readers of this work would have had.

INTRODUCTION

PART I. ISSUES OF ATTRIBUTION

An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions was first published anonymously. It was recorded in the Stationer's Company Register on 21 March 1727¹ as owned by the publisher John Watts. Subsequent editions attributed the text to Andrew Moreton, Esq.² Twenty-two years after Defoe's death, the Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae, compiled by William Oldys and Samuel Johnson, ascribed the History of Apparitions to Defoe (vol.2, p.922). The connection between the pseudonym Andrew Moreton and Defoe appeared in the 1753 Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, "History of Apparitions (under the name of Moreton.)" (Cibber/Sheils vol.4, p.323). All Defoe scholars have concurred that this was Defoe's pseudonym, but none have offered proof. I cannot demonstrate unequivocally that "Andrew Moreton" is Defoe, but I can offer new evidence to support that assumption.

From the Eighteenth Century on, bibliographic scholarship about Defoe has been problematic. P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens examine the history of such studies in their book The Canonization of Daniel Defoe (1988). The following, gathered from Furbank and Owens' book, summarizes the six primary compilers of Defoe materials from the beginnings of serious work on Defoe.

George Chalmers (1742-1825) was the first to shape Defoe's canon. He based his attributions on points of style

only. Furbank and Owens also note that he was gullible and tended to be "accident prone" (p.53). He extended Defoe's canon from the pre-existing twenty-two ascriptions (from the Cibber/Sheils Lives of the Poets) to one hundred and ten.

Walter Wilson (1781-1847) picked up after Chalmers forty years later. His Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel Defoe (1830) catalogued two hundred and ten works by Defoe (adding eighty-odd and subtracting eight from Chalmers, as well as cataloging several attributions from others) (p.56). Wilson indicated that his method of attribution came from a combination of recommendations from unnamed friends and examples, "...from the collector Machell Stace, who had been preparing an 'arranged catalogue' of Defoe's work but abandoned it in Wilson's favor" (p.59-60). Wilson did not specify which of his new titles came from Stace's collection. Most disturbing about Wilson's method of documentation is that:

...when Wilson marks an item as 'Doubtful' (which he does on only four occasions), he means that he personally is quite sure that it is not by Defoe, and that, on the other hand, the fact that he includes an item in his 'Catalogue', without marking it 'Doubtful', does not mean that he positively attributes it to Defoe. It may mean in some cases, no more than that it has been attributed to Defoe and Wilson regards the attribution as just faintly possible. (p.60)

Neither Wilson nor Furbank and Owens mentions by what means, if any, Wilson discerned whether a document was or was not by Defoe beyond registering other peoples' opinions.

In William Lee's book, Life and Recently Discovered Writings (1869), he added sixty-four works, restored seven previous rejections, and deleted forty-two. Like Chalmers, he based his rubric for attribution on stylistic evidence alone. "All rests on Lee's conviction that his magic thumb can infallibly detect Defoe's prose style. To this conviction we owe the attribution to Defoe of four or five 'criminal' pamphlets and no less than 355 articles and paragraphs from *Applebee's Journal*" (p.74). These articles and paragraphs were only partial works or pieces of items published.

Of James Crossley's sixty-nine additions, sixty came from a handwritten list that Crossley compiled but never published, five claims were published between the years 1849 and 1869 in Notes and Queries, one in another magazine (the Gentleman's Magazine, 1838), and three claims were discovered during the auction of Crossley's library (p.80). The quality of Crossley's work fluctuated highly. Furbank and Owens describe him as sometimes astute and credible and sometimes outrageous.

...among his [Crossley's] list of sixty works is a lengthy narrative entitled *The Tryal and Sufferings of Mr. Isaac Martin, who was put into the Inquisition in Spain, for the sake of the Protestant Religion* (1723). According to the title-page, this sensational piece of anti-Catholic propaganda was written by Martin

himself, and was 'Dedicated to his most sacred Majesty, King George, by whose gracious Interposition he was releas'd'. It comes furnished with a testimonial signed by fifteen Anglican bishops, certifying the veracity of Martin's story and recommending him as 'a great object of Charity'. The book, which gives an account of Martin's interrogation and treatment in prison, ends with an apology for his lack of experience as a writer, but claims that he has been advised to publish his story by 'several worthy Bishops and Clergymen' (p.108). Following the main text is an 'Advertisement' inviting orders for copies of the book, to be sent to Isaac Martin, at Mr. Scale's, at the Pearl and Dolphin in Green-Street near Leicester Square'.

On the face of it, there would be no reason whatever to connect Defoe with this work. This proves no obstacle to Crossley, as we see from his comment written in his own copy of the book:

This has been considered a genuine account. It is, however, I have not the slightest doubt, one of Defoe's popular dressings of a meagre subject. The reputed author (Martin) calls himself an illiterate, and how is it possible he would, after the lapse of so many years record long conversations which he had no means of taking down at the time. These conversations have all the impress of Defoe, and were doubtless drawn up by him from a few hints with a charitable view of benefitting the sufferer and making a work which would be saleable. Taylor was the publisher of R. Crusoe.

Perhaps all we need to say here is that no subsequent bibliographer has followed Crossley in crediting Defoe with *The Tryal and Sufferings of Mr. Isaac Martin*.
(p.81-82)

In 1905 W. P. Trent began his book on Defoe. Over 3,000 pages long, it was never published. Trent was the first Defoe bibliographer to require some methodological proof to sustain an attribution; however, his methodology was usually crude stylometrics. He believed that there were classic Defoe stock phrases that would provide evidence for attribution. He, like all his predecessors, based his hypotheses on subjects and style. He also had a tendency to consider a work to be by Defoe until proof came along to discredit that assumption. He became disenchanted with Defoe and sold his book collection, with all of his marginalia, to the Boston Public Library. He also passed his work on to his former pupil, H. C. Hutchins, with the understanding that the work would be cleaned up and published, but it never was. No one knows why Hutchins failed to publish Trent's work. Hutchins wrote a piece on Defoe for the Cambridge Bibliography (1940) and listed only a few of the seventy-nine new ascriptions that Trent had compiled (p.89).

There is a long hiatus between Trent's work and J.R. Moore's Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe (1960). Moore added more attributions than any Defoe scholar, one hundred and twenty in the first edition and an additional one hundred and forty in the second (p.117). He based his opinions completely on internal evidence. He adopted the same kind of phrase stylometry that Trent used and based many

attributions on phraseological and ideological parallels. "This method, and Moore's whole approach to bibliography, seem to us to depend altogether too much on the mystery and prestige of 'authority'" (p.121).

The most recent scholarship has been an exercise in weeding out those entries in the Defoe canon that are obviously not, or easily proven not to be, by Defoe. A.W. Secord's book-length study is devoted solely to de-attributing Robert Drury's Journal. Rodney Baines has published several articles and a book that argue for the exclusion of several works now listed as by Defoe, such as Duncan Campbell. Finally, there is P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens' Defoe De-Attributions: A Critique of J. R. Moore's Checklist (1994). They spent several years attempting to reduce the Defoe canon by de-attributing works that former bibliographers had ascribed to Defoe based on internal evidence. Furbank and Owens use standard external methods for proving works to be probably or conclusively not by Defoe. In light of their successful challenge of intuitive and interpretive attribution, it is necessary to attempt to query such external evidence as can be found, in order to establish a realistic and solid Defoe canon. Part of this search process involves the relationship of the name "Andrew Moreton" with Defoe.

Andrew Moreton appears to have no independent existence in Eighteenth Century literary history. A check of the

English Short Title Catalogue, carried out October of 1997, yielded no author with the name Andrew Moreton. The Dictionary of National Biography lists no person by this name living concurrent with the publication of this text.

Furbank and Owens' Defoe De-Attributions, does not de-attribute The History of Apparitions, or any of the "Andrew Moreton" titles, of which there are seven.³ Because of the exhaustive work that Furbank and Owens have done on removing questionable texts from Defoe's canon, an exclusion by them is evidence that should be taken into account.

The first edition title page of History of Apparitions indicates that this book was, "Printed: And Sold By J. Roberts." David Foxon, in Pope and the Early Eighteenth Century Book Trade explains that the first name, in this case only name, listed on the imprint is "'a publisher', one who distributes books and pamphlets without having any other responsibility--he does not own the copy right or employ the printer, or even know the author" (p.2). In this case, James Roberts was the bookseller; he did not own the copyright. The Stationers Company's Register indicated that the printer John Watts actually owned the copyright in the whole. John Watts owned, "one of the most important printing houses in London in the first half of the eighteenth century" (Plomer, p.304). Watts was famous for the high quality of his publications. He also owned the copyright, in the whole, of A System of Magick (Stationer's Company Register, December

30, 1726) which Defoe scholars also agree was written by Defoe. A System of Magick has a parallel printing and imprint history with that of History of Apparitions in that it was published anonymously at first, later appeared with the pseudonym Andrew Moreton, and also was "Printed: and Sold by J. Roberts" in the first edition.

Watts is connected with Defoe by a letter that Defoe sent to Watts concerning proof-sheets for The Complete English Gentleman (not printed in its entirety in Defoe's lifetime).

To John Watts. 10 September 1729

Sir

I am to ask your Pardon for keeping the Enclosed so long, Mr Baker having told me your Resolution of taking it in hand and Working it off, But I have been Exceeding ill.

I have Revised it again and Contracted it Very Much, and hope to bring it within the Bulk you Desire or as Near it as Possible.

But this and Some Needfull alterations will Oblige you to much Trouble in the first sheet, perhaps allmost as bad as Setting it over again, which Can not be avoided.

I will Endeavour to send the Rest of the Coppy So Well Corrected as to give you Very little Trouble.

I here Return the first sheet and as much Coppy as will make near 3 sheets more. You shall have all the remainder So as not to let you stand still atall.

I am, Sir, Your Most Humble Servt
De Foe

(The Letters of Daniel Defoe, p. 473)

We know, then, that Defoe worked with John Watts towards the end of Defoe's life. A 1735 edition of History of Apparitions appeared with Watts' name on the title page as printer. This was four years after Defoe's death. Watts is therefore a possible link between Moreton and Defoe.

After Defoe's death, three sources suggest that Defoe and Moreton are the same person. The first is a listing in the Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae (1743-1745) which reads, "14315 *De Foe's Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions, with Cuts 1727*"^[4] (Vol.II, p. 922). This reference is critical to the question of proving attribution and deserves close attention.

When Edward Harley, son of Robert Harley and 2nd Earl of Oxford, died, his daughter sold the Harley family library, compiled by Robert and augmented by Edward, to the bookseller Thomas Osborne.⁵ Osborne hired William Oldys, who had been Edward Harley's librarian and secretary, to catalogue the books in order to facilitate the selling of the library. Thomas Osborne hired Samuel Johnson to aid Oldys in compiling this catalogue. It was Johnson who presented the plan for organizing the catalogue.⁶ Johnson also helped collect and organize the Harleianian Miscellanies (1749). The Miscellanies was an eight volume collection of rare and obscure pamphlets that Robert and Edward Harley had gathered for their library. This portion of the library was catalogued and sold separately from the books in the library,

listed in the Catalogus.⁷ The connection with Johnson is stressed because the other two references associating Defoe with Moreton during the eighteenth century both can be traced back to Johnson.

Daniel Defoe had a long working relationship with Robert Harley, First Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer to Queen Anne. The relationship began in 1703 when Harley managed secretly to produce Defoe's bail when he was arrested by Nottingham for having written The Shortest Way with the Dissenters (Downie, 61-63). Defoe became Harley's chief political propagandist and started the first party-line publication The Review (Downie, p.58-59). Defoe was instrumental in keeping Harley's "finger on the pulse" of the people. He was a persuasive and down-to-earth writer who could speak clearly, sincerely, and effectually to the reading population. Sources tend to agree that although Defoe and Harley were not close personal friends, as perhaps Harley and Swift were, they were, "united by a tie of personal and reciprocal interest, pecuniary on the one side and political on the other, they also had much in common. Each possessed a sound sense producing a moderation of political opinion; intolerance...was repugnant to each, and each set great store on peace, progress, and social improvement" (Roscoe, p.53).

Harley did more for Defoe than merely to put him on the political payroll. Harley utilized Defoe's skills for

gathering intelligence, for recapitulating his travels, and for synthesizing facts into proposals which he would then forward to Harley to implement. During Harley's first period in power, 1689-1708, he sent Defoe on several tours of England and Scotland as a combination of spy and fact finder. Harley also employed Defoe to maintain his propaganda machine The Review. Although Defoe worked for Godolphin when Harley was overthrown (1708-1710), he always maintained a healthy respect for and a desire to remain on friendly terms with Harley. During this period, Godolphin sent Defoe back to Scotland, "instead of making use of his pen" (Downie, p.104). Harley bore no serious grudges or suspicions towards Defoe working for his enemies; once Harley was restored to power (1710-1714), he again employed Defoe. During Harley's second period in power, Defoe's role changed from that of instigator to that of "spin-doctor": he did a great deal of what modern politics refers to as "damage control." He continued to work for Harley until Queen Anne died in 1713 and Harley was again deposed, this time not to return.

Although it is a modern wonder that Defoe can have worked secretly for Harley fairly regularly and for so long, it is also a testament to the commitment that they shared in their working relationship. Defoe wrote often to Harley during these years, never feeling so restrained as not to be honest with Harley about his (Defoe's) personal circumstances.

Robert Harley was an enormous lover of books. E. S. Roscoe⁸ tells us that Harley had one of the largest private collections in the country at the time. This was a passion which was shared by his son Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, who expanded the library after his father's death.

William Oldys, as Edward's librarian and amanuensis, would have been privy to inside information about Defoe because of his close working relationship with Edward Harley. Although there is no documented evidence, at this time, that links Defoe to Edward Harley, Edward and Robert Harley often mixed public and private matters in their correspondence. J. A. Downie, in Robert Harley and the Press, cites several letters, from a manuscript collection in private ownership (p.x), that Edward wrote to Robert concerning various political situations. Edward and Robert Harley's correspondence remains unpublished, so it is possible that there may be some mention of Defoe in these letters. It seems probable that Edward knew that Defoe worked for his father. This information would most likely have been available to William Oldys. Even though all of the "Andrew Moreton" titles were published after Robert Harley's death in 1724, there is a possibility that Oldys would have been able to make the connection for the Harleianian Catalogue. The outstanding feature of the listing shown before is that it clearly indicates Defoe as author. Most of the other entries

in this five volume set do not list author's names; they merely have catalogue numbers and titles.

The second occasion where Moreton has been assigned to Defoe is in The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland (1753). This collection was researched primarily, and perhaps entirely, by Robert Sheils (Shiells or Shields also seen). He was Samuel Johnson's amanuensis and primary researcher for the Dictionary. But Sheils's name was not on this collection. The work was listed as authored by Theophilus Cibber (actor, playwright, and son of Colley Cibber). The history of this work is somewhat confusing. Dr. Johnson believed that Sheils was the primary writer of the Lives, and that Cibber merely purchased the manuscript from the bookseller for ten guineas (Boswell, p.504). According to Robert Anderson's Life of Samuel Johnson, "Sheils, it appears, had quarreled with Cibber, his Whiggish supervisor, for scouting his Jacobitical and Tory politics; and it is natural to suppose that he [Sheils?] told his story his own way" (p.115n). The Dictionary of National Biography does not mention if there was a pre-existing working relationship between Sheils and Cibber or if Cibber acquired the work from the bookseller directly. What it does add to the discussion is that, "...the truth is that Cibber revised and improved the whole work and wrote some of the lives himself, receiving from the bookseller an honorarium of twenty guineas" (vol.10, p.363). Sheils died of consumption

in 1753, and this is why there is so much confusion as to what actually happened. The amount of Cibber's involvement is significant because he has a direct connection to John Watts, who might have been able to identify Defoe as Moreton. Watts owned, in the whole, Theophilus Cibber's comedy The Lovers (Stationer's Company Register, 13 February 1730). Cibber's Lives of the Poets was the first to indicate that not only was the History of Apparitions written by Defoe, but also connects the pseudonym of Moreton with Defoe in a list of works by Defoe; "History of Apparitions (under the name of Moreton)" (V. 4, p.323). It is possible that Watts gave Cibber the solid information that he needed to make that connection. It is also possible that Robert Sheils found it out through Johnson's dealings with William Oldys and the Harleian catalogues.

The third citation's connection is perhaps the most obvious because of Robert Sheils's working relationship with Samuel Johnson. In Johnson's Lives of the Poets (1779-1781) there lies a more obscure reference. In the index, Johnson says that Defoe wrote the pamphlet, "Every-Body's Business, Is No-body's Business" (1725). The name Andrew Moreton, Esq. first appeared on this pamphlet. Johnson would have been able to make the connection, or he would have simply known by then that everything published under the name Andrew Moreton was written by Defoe.

From 1781 onward, Defoe scholars have believed Moreton to be Defoe, although none have ever investigated the source of this connection. Having exhausted external leads, internal connections can be made between known Defoe works and History of Apparitions to strengthen the possibility that Defoe is Moreton. Internal attribution is based on the notion that one author repeats or reuses in various forms certain themes and stories. It is possible that one author may have read another author and incorporated similar ideas or stories into his work. In one instance, it would have been extremely difficult for another author to have been able to read the first book of the two of the works in question because of timing. The Political History of the Devil, which was not a "Moreton" title, is generally agreed upon by Defoe scholars, up to and including Moore, to be by Defoe. This title also has not been 'de-attributed' by Furbank and Owens's work. The Political History of the Devil and The History of Apparitions were both registered with the Stationer's Company in 1727, and both manuscripts were owned by John Watts. Because of the sheer length of both manuscripts, it would have been unlikely that one author had read The Political History of the Devil and then had expanded on the information in it in time to write a 400 page manuscript that would have been bought and typeset in the same year. It is extremely doubtful that the two books were

written by different people given the nature of the references.

There are four stories, of differing lengths, in The Political History of the Devil, appearing within about a seventy-five-page space of each other, that are also in the History of Apparitions. This is an uncommonly high amount of overlap. The stories are, in each of the cases, more fully explored in The History of Apparitions.

The first of these stories an account given about Charles VI of France. He had been riding in the forest near Mans and had been frightened by a "ghastly, frightful fellow" (Devil, p. 263) who told the king he had been betrayed. This story, from part two, chapter seven, of The Political History of the Devil, is also told in chapter nine of The History of Apparitions. The only noticeable difference in the two is that the author emphasizes the King's already infirm mind in the second of the two, and he goes on to point out that the apparition has lied about the betrayal, "this was a Falsehood in Fact, for the King was not betray'd by any body; neither was there any plot against him" (p. 190 MS).

The second account is only a paragraph in length in the same chapter of The Political History of the Devil. In this paragraph, the narrator refers to a person who, "travelled upwards of four years with the Devil in his company, and conversed most intimately with him all the while" (p. 268). He goes on to say that the Devil, "performed many useful

services for him" (p. 268), but does not elaborate as to what these services might be. This hint of a story is fully realized in chapter six of The History of Apparitions. It is the story of the spirit/man Owke Mouraski. The author spends thirteen pages (pp. 60 - 73 MS) going into detail about the spirit and the traveller. This story details locals' beliefs as to the identity and function of this spirit without accusing him of being a Devil, as in the former work.

The third account is a description of a man who is seduced by women, in various states of undress, in his dreams, but who always wakes up before he is, "prompted to wickedness" (Apparitions, p. 210 MS). In both works (Devil pt. 2, ch. 10, p. 329; Apparitions ch. 10, p. 210 MS), the story is told to demonstrate how the Devil can tempt in dreams. The only notable different in the accounts is the author's assertion in The History of Apparitions that this story had become so generally known that he could not elaborate on the story without the individual's consent, since it would then make the dreamer identifiable.

The final overlapping account appears not only in The Political History of the Devil and The History of Apparitions, but also, in a modified appearance, in Moll Flanders (1722). This is the strongest link of the internal pieces of evidence because it is three-fold and because we know that Defoe authored Moll Flanders. In part two, chapter ten of Political History of the Devil, Defoe tells the story

of a tradesman of his acquaintance who dreamt of robbing a small child of a purse of gold and a necklace, and then almost murdering the child to remain anonymous. The man awoke just before he had decided to do so in the dream (pp. 330 - 331). The same account appears in History of Apparitions, but it is related as if the tradesman were recounting it for the author. The writer also concludes the story by showing how this man was not guilty of the sin, even though he had felt guilt for having dreamt it, because he had not consciously conceived of it. The Devil facilitated the events; therefore, the dreamer is not guilty conceiving of the sin (pp. 207 - 209 MS). In Moll Flanders, Moll acts out this scenario. She convinces a small child who is walking down the street to turn into an alley with her. There she proceeds to rob the child of her purse and necklace. She even considers killing the child, "Here, I say, the Devil put me upon killing the Child in the dark Alley, that it might not Cry; but the very thought frightened me so that I was ready to drop down" (p. 194). Moll lives the tradesman's dream; her action was his nightmare. Her response is a perfect blend of the tradesman's and the author's. The Devil put the idea in her head, and she responded with a horrified fear of the thought itself. The three episodes are similar in content and have been presented using similar reasoning and logic.

An interesting point included in The Political History of the Devil paves the way, and practically announces, The History of Apparitions. In part two, chapter ten of Political History of the Devil, Defoe wrestles with the question of the Devil appearing to us and how he does so. This wrestling leads to the question of apparitions in general.

It remains to inquire, what then those are that we make so much stir about, and which are called apparitions, or spirits assuming human shapes, and showing themselves to people on particular occasions? whether they are evil spirits or good? and though, indeed, this is out of my way at this time, and does not relate at all to the Devil's history, yet I thought it not amiss to mention it. 1st, Because, as I have said, I do not wholly exclude Satan from all concern in such things; and 2ndly, because I shall dismiss the question with so very short an answer, namely, that we may determine which are and are not the Devil's, by the errand they come upon; every one to his own business. If it comes of a good errand, you may certainly acquit the Devil of it, conclude him innocent, and that he has not hand in it; if it comes of a wicked and devilish errand, you may e'en take him up upon suspicion, 'tis ten to one you find him at the bottom of it.

(pp. 327 - 328)

The introduction of The History of Apparitions sounds extraordinarily similar to the above.

It is as difficult to determine whether the Spirits that appear are good or evil, or both; the only

Conclusion upon that Point is to be made from the Errand they come about; and it is a very just Conclusion, I think; for if a Spirit or Apparition comes to us or haunts us only to terrify and affright, to fill the Mind with Horror, and the House with Disorder, we cannot reasonable suppose that to be a good Spirit; and on the other hand, if it comes to direct to any Good, or to forewarn or preserve from any approaching Evil, it cannot then be reasonable to suppose 'tis an evil Spirit.

(p. 7 MS)

It appears that the author knew he would write more on the subject, if it was not already written. The two paragraphs are similar enough that it is not too far a jump to say that both could have been written by the same author, especially given the short amount of time between the publications.

Furbank and Owens, in their 1988 book The Canonization of Daniel Defoe (from the chapter "Defoe and Prose Style"), admit that although there is no one singular Defoe "style," there are ways that he writes that are noteworthy and identifiable to an extent. They admit, and I agree, that stylometrics should not be a primary tool for the bibliographer, merely a supplement to reinforce the information already established from other sources. They refer to this style as "improvisational." What they mean is that there is a sense, when reading Defoe, that the end of the sentence seems put-off, even to the point where the decision on how to end it seems forever slightly in the

distance. Sir Walter Scott referred to this style as "periphrastic," others call it "breathless." Furbank and Owens sum it up by saying, "the logic of the sentence's endless extension is impeccable; and in retrospect the sentence is found to be most beautifully organized and articulated" (p. 130). An example of this elocution in motion I have taken from the introduction of History of Apparitions.

T H E Question before me is not so much whether there are any such things as Apparitions of Spirits; but W H O, and W H A T, and from W H E N C E they are; what Business they come about, who sends them or directs them, and how and in what manner we ought to think and act, and behave about them, and to them; and this is the Substance of this Undertaking.

(p. 6 MS)

The way the author asks these questions is very fast-paced, as if he were justifying his system of inquiry, which he is in a sense, to an intimate second party. And as he continues to add one thought to another, each question raises the next in a logical pattern that moves from who and what apparitions are to how we should react to them, a movement from external to internal. So that by the time we get to the end of the sentence, we are struck by the magnitude of what appeared to be a simple inquiry. The syntactical form resembles Furbank and Owens's description of Defoe's style, and this type of

identification works as a secondary tool to supplement the external and internal textual connection.

Obviously, the question of attribution cannot be settled unequivocally without Defoe rising from the grave like one of his apparitions to say, "I am Moreton." But the amount of external bibliographic evidence that ties the manuscript to him, and the internal evidence that ties The History of Apparitions to other works by Defoe help to make this leap of faith a small one.

End Notes

1) J. R. Moore, in his Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe, indicates that An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions was first published 21 March 1727. I can find no confirmation that the book was released on this date, having checked The London Gazette, The London Journal, The Daily Courant, and Parker's Penny Post for possible advertisements. Please note that all dates are new style.

2) In Defoe and the Supernatural, Rodney Baines writes, "On November 23, 1728, J. Peele and others advertised [History of Apparitions] as *The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclos'd; or, an Universal History of Apparitions*, above Defoe's pseudonym Andrew Moreton" (p.207n). He holds that this was a separate issue and not a new edition.

3) The seven "Andrew Moreton" titles are: 1) *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions*; 2) *Every-body's Business, is No-Body's Business*; 3) *A System of Magick*; 4) *Second Thoughts are best: or, a further improvement of a late Scheme to prevent Street Robberies*; 5) *Augusta Triumphans: or, the way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe*; 6) *Parochial Tyranny: or, the House-keeper's Complaint against insupportable Exactions*; and 7) *The Protestant Monastery: or, a Complaint against the brutality of the present Age*. (ESTC)

4) The number 14315 is the number assigned to History of Apparitions by William Oldys and Samuel Johnson for the Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae. It is possible that it was also its catalogue number in the Harley library, since

Oldys had been Edward Harley's librarian, but it is not certain.

5) W. Jackson Bate, in his biography of Samuel Johnson, explains that Thomas Osborne hired William Oldys to catalogue the Harley library, put up for sale by Edward Harley's daughter, and Johnson was hired as joint cataloguer. Joseph Wood Krutch, in his biography of Johnson, says Osborne bought the library for £13,000. Allen T. Hazel's Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications adds to this story that Oldys compiled the Harleianian Miscellanies (1749), Johnson wrote the preface for both the Catalogus and Miscellanies, and that it is difficult to discern whether Johnson actually cataloged the Latin section of this collection or whether he and Oldys merely supervised.

6) See Robert Anderson's The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.

7) "*The Harleian Collection of MSS.* was purchased by Government for 10,000*l.* and is now deposited in the British Museum" (Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century Vol. 3, p. 402).

8) Robert Harley Earl of Oxford E.S. Roscoe, Methuen & Co., London, 1902.

PART II. DEFOE'S PHILOSOPHICAL STANCE

Angels and ministers of grace defend us!
Be thou a spirit of health or a goblin damned,
Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell,
Be thy intents wicked or charitable,
Thou com'st in such a questionable shape
That I will speak to thee.

What Hamlet (Act 1, sc.4) questions, addressing the apparition that turns out to be his father's ghost, stems directly from the same arguments concerning the nature and reality of apparitions that actuated a theological and philosophical crisis of the later Seventeenth Century. All of the same issues, pertaining to apparition theories, Daniel Defoe addresses in his Essay on the History and Reality of

Apparitions over a hundred years later: what is the nature of factual perception (perceiving and distinguishing real from delusional appearances)? and what is the source of perception?

Defoe's intention is to instruct his reader what one must know to understand the nature and purpose of supernatural visitations, and to discern the nature and purpose of writers involved in this debate. What is needed to judge of apparitions and of discourses on the spectral in either situation can be reduced to three rules: is the story of the appearance rational, religious, and rhetorically sound?

An example of Defoe's explaining the rhetoric of a visitation is his refutation of the story of the Witch of Endor.

AS to the Appearance of *Samuel*, rais'd by the Witch, I despise it, as it is offer'd in the Capacity of a Soul, much more as the Unembodied Soul of *Samuel*: which tho' it might have been caus'd to appear, as the Sovereign of all Spirits, with whom the Soul of *Samuel* is at Rest, had thought fit; yet could no more be summon'd from that Rest, by the Conjunction of an old Witch, than the Devil could fetch it out of Heaven by Force. Nor was it likely that God, who refus'd so much as to speak to that abandon'd Prince, whom he had so righteously rejected, and that would answer him neither by *Urim*, or by *Thummim*, that would neither hear his Prayer, or accept his Offering, would hear a Witch, a Creature likewise sentenc'd to Death by his own righteous Law, and send

Samuel at her infernal Paw-wawing from Heaven, to tell *Saul* that tomorrow he should be cut in Pieces by the *Philistines*; there seems to be no consistency at all in it, no, none at all.

(p.45-6)

Defoe offers six reasons why the Witch of Endor story is rhetorically unsound, and therefore suspect. The first is that the soul of a dead person does not appear ever unless under special dispensation by God: "...with whom [God] the Soul of Samuel is at Rest..." (p.45). The second is that neither a witch nor the Devil has power over the dead who have gone to heaven: "...yet could no more be summon'd from that Rest, by the Conjurament of an old Witch, then the *Devil* could fetch it out of Heaven by Force..." (p.46). The third is the sign of Puritan Providentialism, those who are rejected by God have no influence with God: "...God, who refus'd so much as to speak to that abandon'd Prince, whom he had so righteously rejected..." (p.46). The fourth is that any involvement with witches or witchcraft is a mortal sin: "...would hear a Witch, a Creature likewise sentenc'd to Death by his own righteous Law..." (p.46). The fifth is that the rhetoric of witches, and by extension witchcraft, is characteristically irrational and crazed: "...and send *Samuel* at her infernal Paw-wawing..." (p.46). The final one is that correct rhetoric, both in the description of the visitation and the explanation of the connected events, is above all things consistent: "...there seems to be no consistency at

all in it, no, none at all." (p.46). Defoe is very clear, organized, and consistent in his rhetoric, which makes him sound rational and confident. And his piety is reserved, yet solid. Defoe thought that this combination was mandatory for any writer who wished to join in the melee concerning apparition theory. The existing debate was rife with illogical or inconsistent writers who unevenly mixed religion, philosophy, and perhaps even personal advancement in their arguments.

The Seventeenth Century saw major political upheaval and profound philosophical re-evaluations, and religion was inextricably any part of any argument on any side. Theology and theosophy were primary topics of debate. Everything from the restoration of the monarch to the rain that fell the day before was examined in terms of its relationship to God.

Part of this continuing debate about human/deity relationships came from the highly factionalized and progressive nature of Protestantism. Protestant tenants and beliefs were evolving and being refined. Another part of the debate came from the explosive theories about human politics, introduced primarily by Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes argues that all of man's interactions are based on social contracts. The Restoration of the monarchy in 1666, after Cromwell's Commonwealth Interregnum, raised the social contractual question: who was, ultimately, in charge, man or God? Hobbes claims that knowledge, power, and authority are all assigned

by contract. Faith, itself, is a contract. Whether it was the factionalization of Protestantism that caused the social and political upheaval, or whether it was the reverse, is unanswerable. Both served, simultaneously, to force people to re-evaluate life. Concurrently, there were rapid advancements being made in scientific investigation that led people away from strict belief in the divine mysteries of God. Hard questions about the nature of man's existence were being asked causing serious divisions politically, socially, and religiously.

Apparition theory would, seemingly, be a tame debate, not entered into by many. But that is not the case. All one has to do to understand the scope of this dialogue is to examine the number and variety of titles available, collected by Rodney Baines, on the subject: on angels...

Richard Baxter's *Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (1691), Richard Barthogge's *Essay upon Reason, and the Nature of Spirits* (1694), John Aubrey's *Miscellanies* (1696), William Turner's *Complete History of the most Remarkable Providences* (1697), and John Beaumont's *Gleanings of Antiquities* (1724), ...anonymous *Scala Naturae* (1695), ...anonymous *Modest Enquiry into the Opinion concerning a Guardian Angel* (1702), ...Increase Mather's *Angelographia, or Discourse of the Holy Angels* (1696), ...Richard Saunders' ...*Angelographia, or Discourse on Angels* (1701), ...John Beaumont's ...*Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirits* (1705), ...John Reynolds' *Inquiries concerning the*

State and Oeconomy of the Angelic Worlds (1723),...*Ministration of and Communion with Angels* [by] Issac Ambrose...*Christian Directory* [by] Richard Baxter.
(p.14-15)

And on devils the interest grows even stronger...

Glanvill's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, Nathaniel Crouch's *Kingdom of Darkness, or the History of Daemons, Spectres, Witches, and Supernatural Delusions* (1688), Richard Baxter's "Of the Malice and Misery of the Devil," in his *Certainty of the World of Spirits* (1691), Brian Turner's *De Primo Peccati Introitu, seu de Angelorum at Hominum Lapsu* (1691), Cotton Mather's "The Devil Discovered," in his *Wonders of the Invisible World* 1692), Increase Mather's *Sin and Misery of the Fallen Angels*, in his *Angelographia* (1696), John Aubrey's *Miscellanies* (1696), William Turner's *Complete History of the Most Remarkable Provinces* (1697), Richard Stafford's *Discourse of the Miseries of Hell* (1697), and his sermon (penned in Bedlam) *Of the Devils Devices* (1699), Charles Leslie's *History of Sin and Heresie* (1698), and Thomas Shepard's sermon on the power of Devils, in his *Several Sermons of Angels* (1702). John Trenchard's skeptical *Natural History of Superstition* (1709),...Tobias Swinden's *Inquiry into the Nature and Place of Hell* (1714), Richard Boulton's compilation *A Complete History of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft* (1715-1716), Francis Hutchinson's *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft* (1718), ...Thomas Lewis's *Nature of Hell, the Reality of Hell-Fire, and the Eternity of Hell-Torments* (1720), Boulton's *Possibility and Reality of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft*,

demonstrated, or a Vindication of the complete History of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft (1722), in reply to Hutchinson, and John Reynold's *theological Inquiries Concerning the State and Oeconomy of the Angelical Worlds* (1723).

(Baines, p.37)

The list of titles on apparitions is longer yet...

Thomas Taylor's *Second Part of Thomas Beard's Theater of God's Judgement*... (1648), ...William Head's *English Rogue*, George Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685), ...in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Late Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possessions* [by] ...Cotton Mather... (1691), ...*Monde Enchanté* [by] Balthazar Bekker... *L'Histoire des Imaginations extravagantes de Monsieur Oufle* (1710), [by] Laurent Bordelon... John Toland in his *Letters to Serena* (1704) and John Trenchard in his *Natural History of Superstition* (1709), ...Francis Hutchinson in his *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*... (1720), ...Ludvig Lavater in his *De Spectris* [1570], ...Samuel Harsnett *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), ...John Ozell's translation of Joseph Pitton's *Voyage into the Levant* (1718), ...Henry Wharton's polemic *Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome* (1688), ...Gilbert Burnet in his *Some Letters* (1708), ...*Blow at Modern Sadducism* (1688) [by] Joseph Glanvill, ...Le Loyer's *Histoires des Spectres*.

(Baines, p.78-88)

What is at the core of this broad argument is not so much whether or not ghosts are real, but the strength of the individual writer's conviction in the powers and mysteries of

God. Disbelief in spirits was tantamount to disbelief in God for some. Yet many others argue that apparitions are products of superstition, and to assign them the status of God's emissaries is a conclusion reached by an irrational mind. Defoe enters the conversation in order to establish a balance and by speaking in a rational voice: "How to bring the World to a right Temper between these extremes is a Difficulty we cannot answer for; but if setting things in a true light, between Imagination and solid Foundation, will assist towards it, we hope this Work will have some Success" (p.ii). His purpose is didactic. His voice is that of reason.

Why Defoe felt it necessary to write about apparitions stems from his clear sense of religious philosophy. For Defoe, understanding the occult was more than an exercise in dispelling superstition, although that certainly was a major factor, it was an attempt to reconcile religion with human reason by way of rhetorical devices that demonstrated order in both. And by doing so, make a profit. To say that Defoe was a dissenting non-conformist does not really provide much insight into his beliefs. This term is more political than theological. Defoe's writing is based upon a primarily Puritan background, as defined by J. Paul Hunter in The Reluctant Pilgrim; "I use the term 'Puritan' to describe an attitude toward life" (p.26n.). Defoe was not always a good

devout Puritan, but the foundations of many of his arguments come straight from basic tenants of Puritanism.

The most important principle in Defoe's religious attitude is Providence, that God is an active governor of the universe. God not only rewards those who follow the path chosen for them, but also punishes those who deviate from that destination. It is God's providence that sent apparitions, or allowed them to appear; therefore they should be attended to. Ghosts and spiritual events are part of Puritan beliefs as the enactors of providence. Predestination is a series of episodes through which we travel and providence is the guide. Man, because he is fallen, has a propensity for evil and misunderstanding. Apparitions are an active manifestation of God's providence to keep man from going astray. Man still has the free will to choose right from wrong, the apparition, and by extension all of providence, sent by God keeps man from erring accidentally. "All wrong choice represents tacit rebellion against God's will, for God's providential rule over the world extends to the life of every individual, and an individual's failure to follow that plan not a sin of omission, but active rebellion" (Hunter, p.33). Because this proposition eliminates mistakes and accidents, wrong choices are intentional actions. Choosing against God's will is equivalent to Lucifer's rebellion. Consequently, it is a

sin to diminish the importance, or existence, of apparitions because it is the same thing as ignoring God's providence.

Defoe as a Puritan believed that apparitions were part of the workings of God's providence. Because of the rise of Hobbesian deism, Puritans found themselves in an awkward position. His philosophy's basic principle was that God created the world and then stepped back-placing the act of free will as paramount to God's predestined path. This belief worked as a wedge between society and religion, rather than as a bond. Defoe wished to reinstate God as the governor, not merely creator, of the universe. An example of this can be found in his fifth chapter, where he outlines his sense of organization of heaven's government, God being the somewhat benevolent ruler. Angels are tiered from arch-angels down to the least powerful angel. And, Defoe explains, God focuses each level of angels on a set of tasks particular to the talents that God created these servants with. This view of heaven as a working body politic helped Defoe explain good apparitions and maintained a strict Puritan line. Ordering this political hierarchy of heaven is the structure of Providence "which is, in a word, the administration of Heaven' Government in the World" (chap.4). The lesser class of spirits created by God for the sole purpose of carrying out God's mission are what humans know as good apparitions.

Another Puritan belief that informs Defoe's faith was in the infinite mystery of God's ways.

...the ways and works of Providence are sovereign and superior; the manner concealed, and beyond our understanding and reason, not always visible to us, and yet its proceedings not the less just, or the less to be accounted for in themselves; nor is it necessary for us to be always account for them to ourselves. Heaven has its own reasons for its actings, and it is not for us to dispute its sovereignty, and more than to examine into the reasons of its working.
(chap. 11, p.257)

The encroaching "new science" secularized and opened up for questioning issues previously assigned to faith, and though Defoe was a strong supporter of scientific investigation, he attempted to strike a balance between understanding some parts of nature through experimentation and leaving others, such as how providence works, to be assigned to the realm of God's mystery. This is why he does not feel the need to explain the material that spirits are comprised of, or their physical natures. His business, as the above quotation indicates, is to reconnect belief in spirits with spiritual belief.

The organization of Defoe's work follows an established Puritan framework. This framework is outlined by J. Paul Hunter. First, as Hunter points out, "he seems to begin with an ideological aim and to accumulate events (factual or

fictional) as examples to support his ideology" (p.5); his ideological aim is to argue for the actual existence and purpose of apparitions based on religious arguments using what he believes to be factual information. Second, "Defoe's art is fact-centered rather than idea-centered" (Hunter, p.14). The quantity of supporting data, in the form of 51 modern secular stories, as compared with the amount of time spent connecting and discussing the accounts, pertains to only 16 different points of theory. Third, the "Puritan attention to minutiae" (Hunter, p.85) is evident from the great length and exhaustive detail in so many of his stories. Fourth, Defoe demonstrates "patterns of divine activity" (Hunter, p.76) because:

The physical world was a series of emblems, symbols made by God to clarify to men great spiritual truths: each thing and event contained a meaning which might be discovered by men who studied all aspects of that thing or event. Typology, as the Puritans practiced it, was the particular device by which time was comprehended into their emblematic scheme.
(Hunter, p.122)

An apparition often acted in a series of visitations or as a messenger sent after several other signs had been presented to and over-looked or ignored by those who needed some sort of guidance or assistance. And any person might experience multiple visitations throughout life in a variety

of seemingly unconnected situations. This in addition to what we may call daily "happenstance" would create a personal typology that, unfortunately, needs distance for perspective. Defoe was convinced of the active participation of the supernatural in guiding his actions in his daily affairs.

In his autobiographical Appeal to Honor and Justice (1715), Defoe demonstrated that he had accepted supernatural guidance in the conduct of even his mundane affairs. In 1604, for example, he refused an attractive offer to settle at Cadiz because Providence "placed a secret Aversion in my mind to quitting *England* upon any account." Time and again, Defoe felt celestial warnings or celestial prompting in the conduct of his life.

(Baines, p.5)

Defoe's hope in undertaking the writing of History of Apparitions is to teach by the examples of others, so that his readers can avoid too much dangerous "life-experience." If he can keep others from the pitfalls of veering off of their predestined path by his wisdom and the experiences of others, he may be saving them from God's punishment.

A final consideration: Defoe's conviction is that apparitions are real. Troy Boone, in his "Narrating the Apparition: Glanvill, Defoe, and the Rise of Gothic Fiction," argues that Glanvill and Defoe are the precursors to Gothic fiction because of their apparition narratives. But Boone assumes that Glanvill and Defoe were creating fictions.

Boone ignores the power of Defoe's and Glanvill's religious conviction. Boone, in fact, goes so far as to undermine their religious and philosophical integrity with comments such as: "Many eighteenth-century writings on the supernatural display what a writer like Johnson calls rationalism in that they do not carefully distinguish between belief in the spiritual world and mere superstition" (p.175). But Defoe (and Glanvill) go to great lengths to distinguish between belief in the spiritual world and belief in superstition. Basically, Boone takes both Defoe and Glanvill out of their historical, religious, and philosophical contexts in order to argue that they were the antecedents of gothic fiction. That they might have inspired Gothic writers is an arguable position, but to say that they were, themselves writing fiction is erroneous. It would be contrary to Defoe's purpose, because he has rigid standards by which he discerns what is true and what is a folk story and because of the "Puritan suspicion of anything fictional" (Hunter, p.115). Defoe spends a great deal of time establishing criteria to distinguish a true story from a folk tale. Boone is correct in arguing that both Glanvill and Defoe use their works as anti-superstitious propaganda, but his assumption that they were creating fiction rather than reporting fact only proves that they are both conscious of the difficulty inherent in adapting the notion of Rationalism to extremely religious beliefs, not that they were creating

fiction to read like real life in order to be believable, "this construction of realism is reinforced by censuring fictional forms associated with romance" (p.180). Absent in Boone's theory is the intensity of Defoe and Glanvill's religious faith.

i. "All men agree in the will to be directed and governed."

(Hobbes, p.82)

Hobbes's world of nominalism counters Defoe's religious beliefs, although Defoe finds Hobbes's notions of reason and political structures appealing. "Reason is no less of the nature of man than passion, and is the same in all men, because all men agree in the will to be directed and governed in the way to that which they desire to attain, namely their own good, which is the work of reason" (Hobbes, p.82). Hobbes represents, for Defoe, rhetorically sound reason without the necessary belief in God. Part of Defoe's task in History of Apparitions is to rejoin reason with devotion.

Defoe uses Hobbes's concept that faith is a contract; it is God's responsibility to save man by any means available (i.e. angelic intervention in the form of a visitation) and man's responsibility that he submit his free will to God's better judgement for his own salvation (or good). Apparitions are one of God's means to keep man from mistake or wrong choice. Anyone who does not subscribe to this

belief is, by extension, irrational because he ignores what is best for him: salvation.

Although Defoe argues that self is subject to God, he is a firm believer in his own self-interest. Passivity is appropriate for pioussness if the individual is so inclined, but Defoe actively seeks his own providence. The passive argument is demonstrated by comparing him with Milton: "They also serve who only stand and wait" (p.242) with, "In vain they for Divine Assistance stay, / Unless they learn to fight as well as pray" (Defoe's Jure Divino, Bk.1, p.19).

God's providence is translated to man by way of nature. If humans take the wrong action, there will be "a variety of natural causes to explain the situation, but the final cause is God" (Novak, p.7). Part of the problem in dissecting natural law is that, for Defoe, it is comprised of two parts, what actions humans take (and humans must take some action for personal preservation) and what actions providence uses (in the form of nature) to punish or reward those actions. Hobbes lacks the second of these two parts.

It is also reasonable for Defoe to adopt Hobbes's theory on government and assert that heaven is a tiered system of ministering angels whose task is to help man avoid deviating from his predestined path. Defoe outlines angelic hierarchy where every angel has a specific task (section iii). God governs this hierarchy. Man's concept of government mirrors

heaven's. Defoe uses Hobbes, here, for his own purposes of re-establishing a connection between reason and religion.

Defoe's mix of Puritanism and rationalism brings this discussion back to the occult. Man's fallibility accounts for the majority of what presents itself as supernatural, either from cheat or fancy. However, to deny spiritual guidance in the world completely is to deny providence and God. Defoe singles out Joseph Glanvill and Thomas Hobbes because they flout his criteria (reason, religion, and rhetorically sensible) that define the nature and purpose of writers on the supernatural. Defoe censures Hobbes because Hobbes is rational and makes logical sense but lacks piety. Glanvill is pointed out because he is a religious zealot; he is irrational and rhetorically convoluted. Defoe, in An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions, is attempting to reconcile the sacred with the secular by using these three criteria to mend the split between religion and the supernatural.

* * * * *

With the rise in scientific study and empiricism in the late Seventeenth Century came the inevitable decline in the belief in the unprovable and invisible. For Hobbes, there could be no truth without proof. Truth was perception of ideas supported by factual evidence, or proof.

Evidence is to truth, as the sap is
to the tree, which so far as it
creepeth along with the body and
branches, keepeth them alive; when

it forsaketh them, they die. For this is the evidence, which is meaning with our words, is the life of truth; without it truth is nothing worth.

4. Knowledge, therefore, which we call SCIENCE, I define to be evidence of truth, from some beginning or principle of sense...The first principle of knowledge therefore is, that we have such and such conceptions; the second, that we have thus and thus named the things whereof they are conceptions; the third is, that we have joined those names in such manner, as to make true propositions; the fourth and last is, that we have joined those propositions in such a manner as they be concluding.

(Elements of Law Natural and Politic, p.41)

Without physical evidence, there can be no truth or proof of a theory. Science is the means for establishing and categorizing this evidence. And although Defoe was a strong supporter of scientific investigation, he believed that there were sacred mysteries that we simply could not know. As Robert James Merrett put it, "he did not equate the order of being with the order of knowing" (p.10). Defoe did not believe that issues of scientific and mathematic investigation were related to belief in God. He believed religious faith was superior to and unable to be explained by the body of human knowledge. This concept of divine mystery is fundamental to Christianity, especially Defoe's version.

Hobbes questions faith. Logical reasoning begins with the point that humans cannot have knowledge (in the sense of

empirical data) of the reality of incorporeal spirits because there must be tangible evidence. Incorporeal spirits, by their very name, are intangible. Christians acknowledge that there are immortal spirits, both good and evil, but there is no evidence of this fact. Belief in the Bible is what sustains belief in spirits; however, it does not say in the Bible that these spirits are incorporeal. Hobbes can accept that one might believe that spirits are made of a body, or some type of material, but to believe in incorporeal bodies is, "an absurdity of speech" (Elements of Law Natural and Politic, p.66). And as for heathens who claim to have experienced incorporeal spiritual visitations, they are merely talking nonsense.

Since what is known of spirits does not come from evidence, but from faith in the Bible as the word of God, the next logical question then becomes, how do Christians know that the Bible is the word of God? Without hard facts or clear actions, "it remaineth, that the knowledge that the Scriptures are the word of God, is only faith" (Elements of Law Natural and Politic, p.68). The problem with faith is that it consists of trust in men. In this case, the trust must be in the men who control the church, who, in turn, control the Scriptures. Although Hobbes goes on to explain that the Bible is true because it has been handed down from one generation of holy men to the next, starting with "those that saw the wondrous works of God Almighty in the flesh"

(Elements of Law Natural and Politic, p.68) and that it was probably God who caused faith to work, he has hinted at a very risky proposition. What if men created the Bible, not transcribed it? If this is possible, then what evidence is there that there is a God? If the only contemporary proof is reliance on a single text in the hands of those whose precursors may have written it, what evidence is there to prove in the existence of God? Hobbes says that people have faith, and this faith, "is the work of the Spirit of God" (Elements of Law Natural and Politic, p.69).

To a Puritan such as Defoe, even the smallest possibility of questioning the existence of God is extremely dangerous. Since Defoe believes that men are basically evil because of the Fall, how can anyone, he would argue, trust men throughout the centuries to have maintained the inherent goodness in the Scriptures? He knows that faith is a belief in God that is proven every day by providence. And even though Hobbes never says that men created the idea of God, the implication is there, "for all those good opinions which we admit and believe, though they proceed from hearing, and hearing from teaching, both which are natural, yet they are the work of God" (Elements of Law Natural and Politic, p.69). Since men are fallible, because of the Fall, how can the potential for evil (or at least mistakes) not be implicit for Defoe?

Joseph Glanvill represents a different kind of threat than Hobbes does for Defoe. Rather than almost undermining the foundations for faith, Glanvill goes too far in the other direction. He believes in the supernatural to such an extent that it is hard to take him seriously. He goes to such extremes to propagate superstitions and folk tales, most of which Defoe viewed as ridiculous and distasteful, that a rational human being is hard pressed to accept his speculations. Defoe would have seen him as a dangerous advocate for unquestioning and complete belief in the supernatural. Although Defoe believed that the Bible was the word of God, he had serious reservations about "whether the story of Babel was an adequate explanation for the variety of languages,...Bunyan's cloven-footed devil,...the idea that Heaven was a place inhabited by angels playing harps, and...a rigid doctrine of predestination" (Novak, p.13). Not listed by Novak, but included in the list of biblical references that Defoe was uneasy about is the story in 1 Samuel, chapter 28 (the Witch of Endor).

The controversy surrounding interpretations of this story are as puzzling for Defoe as the text of the story itself. The Witch of Endor story is an odd mixture of superstition and religious doctrine. That this story is in the Bible makes it impossible for Defoe to discount; however, he did not think that the three primary actions in the story rang true. Defoe did not believe, as Glanvill did, that the

woman was a witch, that she conjured up a spirit, or that it was Samuel's ghost that appeared to Saul. Glanvill's unquestioning belief that all things supernatural were proof of God's power would have appeared extremely naive to Defoe because of his rational approach to the occult. Glanvill makes no allowances for human frauds or fancy; and this simply is not reasonable for Defoe.

Defoe's prose demonstrates that he is interested in what is reasonable and what makes sense; even if (or perhaps especially if) what is reasonable and what makes sense is based on faith, religion, and God. Defoe clearly states his position in the cornerstone argument in History of Apparitions. There is never a question of whether there are spirits or not; that is proven (and reiterated by examples).

I shall therefore spend but very little time to prove or to argue for the Reality of Apparition. Let Mr. *Glanvill* and his Antagonists, the *Hobbists* and the *Sadduces* of those Times, be your Disputants upon that Subject:...If there is an invisible World, and if Spirits residing or inhabiting are allowed to be there, or placed there by the supreme governing Power of the Universe; it will be hard to prove, that 'tis impossible that they should come hither, or that they should not have Liberty to show themselves here, and converse in this Globe, as well as in all other Globes or Worlds, which, for ought we know, are to be found in that immense Space; Reason does not exclude them, Nature yields to the Possibility, and Experience with a Cloud of Witness in all Ages

confirm the Reality of the
affirmative.

(p.5)

The "experience" and "witness" that Defoe refers to includes the visitations of God the Father, Jesus, the Holy Ghost, and Angels as recorded in numerous places throughout the Bible. Faith is where Defoe grounds his argument. Defoe opens with the basis for his argument in religion, he then turns to classical references such as Homer's Iliad, and ends up using individual accounts for supporting examples. He starts his argument with what he considers his strongest evidence; the evidence based in religion and God, and he does this for two reasons. The first is the most obvious to a Christian. If the Bible says that God, Christ, the Holy Ghost and Angels, as well as prophets, appeared "unto men," then that appearance is exactly what happened. It is an empirical event registered in history. The second reason is that Hobbes's and Glanvill's arguments both lack important qualities. This lack is what causes Glanvill and Hobbes to be unacceptable and questionable. Defoe's stance enables him to explain what he can by using empirical data and to leave unexplained what he does not believe can be explained by invoking divine mystery presented in clear, simple, ordered rhetoric. Defoe hopes to convince his reading public without offending or alienating them. He feels that his audience needs his guidance because apparitions had been relegated to the secular, but he doesn't want to offend his readers, so

that they will continue to read. It is in his best "enlightened self-interest" (Novak, p.5) to cajole and entertain the reader. This approach establishes Defoe's authority above the likes of Glanvill and Hobbes and assures his reader that they are in on his joke as well.

* * * * *

...ghosts, fairies, hobgoblins, and similar apparitions are no part of the subject of natural philosophy... of ghosts you ought to take but for a dream.

(Hobbes, Vol.7, p.58)

Since Defoe was so solidly convinced that the spiritual world intervened in the real world, it is no wonder that he found fault with Hobbes. Defoe scholars know, from his vast collection of writings on a variety of topics that either quote from or mention in paraphrase Hobbes, that Defoe was extremely well read in Hobbesian philosophy. Even though Defoe intentionally avoids naming anyone in connection with specific theories (p.2) in History of Apparitions, what he implies leads me to believe that Defoe was well acquainted with Hobbes' notions on religion. Hobbes believed that God could make unnatural apparitions, but he does not do it as often as men believe (Collected Works, Vol.7). Evil men, unscrupulous and corrupt men -- many clergymen for example, pray on the superstitious nature of simple people for their own means and don't really believe in the existence of ghosts (Vol.3, p.10). Defoe agrees with Hobbes that spectral frauds

have been perpetrated upon the unsuspecting population at large, particularly by the clergy, "...really Church Apparitions are the most frightful, most teizing, and terrible in their way, of all the real Devils that walk about in the World" (p.348). Hobbes says that all apparitions are creatures of fancy, such as we see in dreams, and men who don't know this think they are real and call them ghosts. These men think these ghosts are spirits, or the souls of the dead. Men fear these ghosts because they are afraid to be like them, in other words, they are afraid of these spirits because of a natural fear of their own death. For Hobbes, it is clear that there are no such things as ghosts.

False, in a second manner, are such propositions as these; a *ghost is a body or a spirit, or a spirit, that is, a thin body; sensible species fly up and down in the air, or are moved hither and thither, which is proper to bodies; also, a shadow is moved, or is a body; light is moved, or is a body; color is the object of sight, sound of hearing; space or place is extended; and innumerable others of this kind. For seeing ghosts, sensible species, a shadow, light, color, sound, space, &c. appear to us no less sleeping than waking, they cannot be things without us, but only phantasms of the mind that imagines them; and therefore the names of these, copulated with the names of bodies, cannot constitute a true proposition.*

(Vol.1, p.59)

This opinion nullifies Defoe's religion as well as his rationale. But he is prepared to deal with the question using a voice as lucid as Hobbes's.

First, We make a great deal of Difficulty to resolve whether there are any such things as Apparitions or no; and some People are for reducing them all into Fancy, Whimsie, and the Vapours; and so shutting the Door against Apparitions in general, they resolve to receive no Visits from the invisible World, nor to have any Acquaintance with its Inhabitants 'till they come there; Not satisfy'd with that, they resolve for all of us, as well as for themselves, and will have it, that because they have no Notion of it themselves, therefore there is really no such thing, and this they have advanc'd with great Assurance, as well in Print as in other Discourses. I name no body.

I have, I believe, as true a Notion of the Power of Imagination as I ought to have, and you shall hear farther from me upon that Head; I believe we form as many Apparitions in our Fancies, as we see really with our Eyes, and a great many more; nay, our Imaginations are sometimes very diligent to embark the Eyes (and the Ears too) in the Delusion, and persuade us to believe we see Spectres and Appearances, and hear Noises and Voices, when indeed, neither the Devil or any other Spirit, good or bad, has troubled themselves about us.

But it does not follow from thence that therefore there are no such Things in Nature.

(History of Apparitions, p.1-2)

When Defoe previews what he will say later about apparitions, he tells us that the proof of their existence has touched

everyone in some way. Sometimes it is as unobtrusive as an "irresistible Force upon the Mind" (p.3). Here Defoe is acknowledging the difficulty in believing in what, for the most part, is the product of an over-active imagination, without negating the fact that statistical probability is on his side, "because what *may be* we can not but believe sometimes *has been*, as what *has been*, we are sure *may be*" (p.5). And, "Reason does not exclude them, Nature yields to the possibility, and Experience with a Cloud of Witnesses in all Ages confirm the Reality of the affirmative" (p.6).

Hobbes retells the history of the idea of a separation of body and spirit starting with pre-Christian philosophy not merely as an exercise in theocentric concerns, but actually to distance himself from Christian piety. Aristotle, begins Hobbes, was the first to consider the idea of separate essences: that a man's soul can exist apart from his body. Therefore, when a body dies the soul must go somewhere. These errors, as Hobbes calls them, were brought into the [Roman] Church (see his argument in section i) and souls were presumed to be real, so a place was designated for the body-less souls: Purgatory. In explaining the dual nature of the soul, being all in every part of the body, Hobbes says, "the essence of a man, which, they [the Roman Church] say, is his soul, they affirm all of it to be in his little finger, & all of it in every other part, however small, of his body; and yet no more soul in the whole body, than in any one of those

parts" (Vol.3, p.675). These notions give rise to questions such as: how can an incorporeal spirit be able to feel pain, i.e. the fire of hell, if they have no body to feel it with? or if incorporeal spirits are unable to be in a place, how can it move, or how can it go to heaven, hell, or even be seen on earth as ghosts if it is not "capable of place" (Vol.3, p.676).

Defoe does not agree with Hobbes, believing that body and soul are two very distinct entities, which can commingle and coexist in life yet separate at the death of the flesh, and that this is one of the divine mysteries which it is not his place to question. Defoe also is not interested in the composition of the spirit, because he can not venture anything, "that will not bear a Proof, and to suggest nothing without Probability, in all this Work" (p.5). He is prudent enough here to remind his reader that in order to avoid committing the sin of pride, Christians should be content with the process of confirming that apparitions exist and not to strive for knowledge that is unnecessary to the argument of their existence, i.e. their physical substance.

Defoe and Hobbes share a common dislike of those folk beliefs that perpetuate the notion that souls of the deceased return to Earth to visit mankind. Hobbes, as indicated in the quotation from the beginning of this section, does not believe in ghosts at all. Defoe merely limits his opinion to the soul of a departed person not appearing to others still

living, the visitor being a spirit in the guise of the deceased individual. He is very firm in these areas.

...The dismissed, departed, unembodied Spirits, which we call Souls of Men, whether happy or miserable, can by no means appear among us: all Apparition of that kind is fictitious and imaginary; never was practicable, except by one Miracle, and never can again be practicable, and therefore is not to be expected [The resurrection of Christ and the saints]...LET it then be sufficient to the Purpose, this Apparition of Souls was extraordinary and miraculous, and we are to expect them no more; their State is determined, the happy are too happy, and their Happiness is too firmly fix'd, to break Prison, and get out, in a word, these cannot, and the other would not if they could; and we are not to expect to see or hear from them any more on this Earth; till the Resurrection of all things.

(p.125-6)

So that while Defoe would find Hobbes greatly offensive in his approach to Christian issues, they agree on points concerning the appearance of the souls of the departed (see Hobbes' quotation, p.24).

Defoe and Hobbes both dislike the Catholic Church. They especially dislike the rituals, which they consider adaptations of pre-Christian ceremonies. Hobbes uses examples from the Roman Catholic Church in his discussion on errors in philosophy that derive from tradition.

Lastly, for the errors brought in from false, or uncertain history,

what is all the legend of fictitious history, in the lives on the saints; and all the histories of apparitions, and ghosts, alleged by the doctors of the Roman Church, to make good their doctrines on hell, and purgatory, the power of exorcism, and other doctrines which have no warrant, neither in reason, nor Scripture; as also all those traditions which they call the unwritten word of God: but old wives fables? Whereof, though they find somewhat dispersed in the writings of the ancient fathers; yet those fathers were men, that might too easily believe false reports; and the producing of their opinions for testimony of the truth of what they believed,...which the most sincere men, without great knowledge of natural causes, such as the fathers were, are commonly the most subject to. For naturally, the best men are the least suspicious of fraudulent purposes.

(Vol.3, p.686-7)

Hobbes gives credit to the "best men" who were duped originally. His difficulty comes from the reliance of the modern church on these early reports to justify their means. The mystical element of Catholicism is, therefore, based on "old wives tales" (see above quotation). Defoe essentially points to the same fallacy, in considerably harsher terms, "I know the *Roman* Catholicks have a way of performing a Service for the dead...whether that has any relation to this old Pagan Notion, or not, I will not say. I know Popery has pretty much of the Pagan in their Original, I mean their Worship" (p.312). For Defoe, the Catholic Church was the

worst offender of those who perpetrated fraudulent appearances to serve their own means.

"The *Roman* Church, that true Catholick Establishment, built upon the solid rock of St. *Peter* himself, how full is it of glorious Frauds of this kind? And how has the whole Scheme of Papal Tyranny been supported among the People in this very manner, ever since the great defection of the *Roman* Hierarchy, from its true Primitive Purity, and originally holy Institution?

(p.348)

Where Hobbes indicates that the tradition in the Catholic Church comes more from human nature and its foibles, Defoe implies something far more intentionally evil by indicating that Catholicism derives from various pagan beliefs. Modern religious scholarship indicates that in order to convert the pagan tribes whom Rome conquered to Christianity, the Catholic Church incorporated some of the rituals of the conquered into the liturgy. Christianity would then appear less strange, and therefore it was easier to persuade these tribes to convert. For Defoe, the Catholic rites were so like pagan rituals that he found Catholics heathens. He dismisses these rites as absurd on the following page, "But enough of this Pagan and Popish Frippery: our business is to talk to the more rational world" (p.313).

The third major area where both men converge is found in their similar discussions of dreams. One definition of the

word phantasm is a deception which Hobbes discusses in several places throughout his writing. Hobbes uses this word with this particular meaning when he describes what happens when humans dream. Dreams are deceptions caused by the "appetites and aversions" of the heart and mind (Vol.1, p.401).

For example, heat in the heart proceeds from anger and fighting; and again, from heat in the heart, whatsoever be the cause of it, is generated anger and the image of an enemy, in sleep. And as love and beauty stir up heat in certain organs; so heat in the same organs, from whatsoever it proceeds, often causeth desire and the image of an unresisting beauty. Lastly, cold doth in the same manner generate fear in those that sleep, and causeth them to dream of ghosts, and to have phantasms of horror and danger; as fear also causeth cold in those who wake. So reciprocal are the motions of the heart and brain.
(Vol.1, p.401)

Dreams appear to make sense during the dream because the mind creates the phantasm, or mental image, for the context of the dream. Coming from the dreamer's imagination, they make sense to the subject during the dream. Part of the reason that dreams may often be strange or bizarre, is because particulars concerning the phantasm may have been forgotten, so the mind fabricates fiction to fill the gaps. Here Hobbes uses the word phantasm strictly, as an object of perception through the senses, as well as more generally, as in an idea,

concept, or deception. A dream, therefore, is a deception of the mind caused by a combination of physiology and psychology. One logical example then, are the dreams experienced by guilty men, who combine fear with superstitious stories of apparitions, and as a result "hath raised in their minds terrible phantasms, which have been and are still deceitfully received for things really true, under the names of *ghosts* and *incorporeal substances*" (Vol.1, p.402). The guilty man is worked on by the emotional (fear) and the psychological (superstition) subconsciously. The result is a dream figured by a ghost that, literally, haunts him.

Defoe, too, believes that the conscience will work upon the guilty mind while both awake and dreaming.

CONSCIENCE, indeed, is a fright-
full Apparition itself, and I make
no Question but it oftentimes haunts
an oppressing Criminal into Resur-
rection, and is a Ghost to him
sleeping or waking; nor is it the
least Testimony of an invisible
World that there is such a Drummer
as that in the Soul, that can beat
an Allarm when he pleases, and so
loud, as no other Noise can drown
it, no Musick quiet it or make it
hush, no Power silence it, no Mirth
allay it, no Bribe Corrupt it.

CONSCIENCE raises many a *Devil*,
that all the Magick in the World
can't lay; it shows us many an
Apparitions that no Eyes can see,
and sets Spectres before us with
which the *Devil* has no Acquaintance;
Conscience makes ghosts walk, and
departed Souls appear, when the
Souls themselves know nothing of it.

This thing called Conscience is a strange bold Disturber, it works upon the Imagination with an invincible Force; Like Faith, it makes a Man view things that are not, as if they were; feel things that are not to be felt, see things that are not to be seen, and hear things that are not to be heard; it commands the Senses, nay even the Tongue itself, which is so little under Command, submits to this sovereign Mandate; and tho' I do not see that Conscience always over-rules it to Silence, yet it often makes it speak, even whether it would or no, and that to its own Ruin and Destruction; making the guilty Man accused himself, and confess what his Policy had been before so effectually conceal'd, that no Eye had seen it, no Evidence could prove it.
(p. 100-101)

The psyche creates this kind of vision through no other devices than guilt and fear. Then Defoe extends his argument: not only does this sort of occurrence prove the existence of a higher power, but it reinforces a belief in providence. After all, who else but an almighty force could create "such a Drummer as that in the Soul, that can beat an Allarm when he pleases, and so loud, as no other Noise can drown it, no Musick quiet it or make it hush, no Power silence it, no Mirth allay it, no Bribe corrupt it" (p.100). Conscience is a watch dog created by God. Defoe has several examples of guilty men having visions of their victims. In his seventh chapter, there is a story of a murderer who is haunted by an apparition of his victim who comes initially in a dream, although eventually this vision haunts him while

awake and asleep. Since Defoe believes that guilty men generate vision because of an excess of guilt, and since he has stated earlier that most of what we dream is derived from what is on our minds while awake, it follows that he would believe that the guilty dream of their crimes while asleep.

Defoe does not need to speculate on what physiologically causes dreams, besides excessive guilt, because it is unimportant to the existence of apparitions. His purpose is to explain that there are visitations in dreams that are as real as those that occur while awake.

There may be Dreams without Apparition, as there may be Apparitions without Dreams; but Apparition in dream may be as really an Apparition as if the Person who saw it was awake: The difference may be here, that the Apparition in a Dream is visible to the Soul only, for the Soul never sleeps; and an Apparition to the Eyesight is visible in common perspective.

(p.201-2)

Contrary to Hobbes, Defoe believes that a person dreamt of is actually an apparition, except in cases of guilt, because the mind can not create the image of a person with such accuracy and in such detail. A force outside of the dreamer must have placed this appearance in "the Soul's view" (p.202). Defoe's examples of spiritual visitations in dreams begin with stories from the Scripture that pertain to God and angels appearing in dreams. It then follows, says Defoe, that if God and angels can appear in dreams, then so can the Devil. This

possibility accounts for the variety in the nature of dreams. The Devil has two methods of influence in dreams. He can either tempt into sin, or scare into it. But Defoe explicitly asserts that if one sins in dreams, then that individual has not committed the sin. The Devil put the idea into the dream and the individual is not responsible. This notion is in total opposition to Hobbes' position that phantasms originate in fancy. Neither theorist blames the dreamer for the intervention of conscience, but Defoe's dreamer is not just less culpable, but actually innocent.

One of Defoe's most interesting examples about this topic is when he retells a dream that he had from the man's "own Lips" (p.208). He describes this anonymous individual as being in difficult financial circumstances and needing money to care for his family. In his dream, this man encounters a little girl who is wearing a great deal of expensive jewelry and has a purse full of gold in her hand. The child's nurse has left her unattended. The dreamer is tempted by two factors: 1) the actual material goods on the child and 2) the justifications presented to him in favor of robbing her. After considering both factors, the man steals the girl's jewelry and money. He then wakes up and feels doubly cheated. He realizes that he hasn't got the items that would relieve his financial distress, and he was tricked into committing a crime. Defoe claims that although the dreamer was later racked by guilt, this man was in no way responsible

because it was a trap set by the Devil and, therefore, was only a delusion. Defoe was obviously fascinated by this because this very same circumstance appears in two other works, one factual and one fictional. He includes essentially the same story, with only slight variance, in the Political History of the Devil (page 331). The essential difference in this version of the story is that after the man has robbed the child, the Devil attempts to convince him to kill her, speaking to his fears that she may divulge the theft and its perpetrator. It is at this point, when the man becomes horrified by the thought of murdering the innocent child, that the dreamer awakes. This one detail is left out of the later History of Apparitions.

The circumstance appears in another form in Moll Flanders (pages 194-95). This time, however, Moll actually does encounter the "neglected" child and does rob her. She uses all of the same rationalizations for robbing the child that the Devil had suggested to the tradesmen in his dream. She emphatically insists that she didn't hurt or scare the child. This story is unusual enough in and of itself. And Defoe is as interested how the story unfolds, as he is in the moral dilemma that the theft presents. Defoe uses this story as more than merely an example of temptation, but as a moral compass. And although the story may seem tangential, it represents the interaction between dreams and the conscience.

As to general content of dreams, Defoe indicates that what we think about while awake may influence what we dream, "... as our heads are so full of impertinent Thoughts in the Day, which in proportion crowd the Imagination at Night, so our Dreams are trifling and foolish" (p.206). We must judge for ourselves on the content of each individual dream as to whether or not we need to pay attention and try to understand it, or whether it is "trifling and foolish." The story the dream relays lets us know whether it is important or not and whether it is good or evil. He stresses that actual apparitions in dreams are exceedingly rare. The biggest problem for most is being able to distinguish the real visitation from the "Product[s] of an incoherent Brain, a distemper'd Head, or which is worse, a distemper'd Mind" (p.211) because of the latter's difficulty in applying reason to a dream that may appear to be absurd.

"Like Hobbes...he [Defoe] believed in the uniformity of human nature and held psychological causes and effects to be universal and unchanging" (Merrett, p.19). Hobbes and Defoe disagree on the actual existence of ghosts and separation of flesh and spirit, but they do agree on the propagation of superstition (particularly by the Catholic Church) and the psychology of guilt, particularly in dreams. Although they disagree on the on the points of faith, they agree when it comes to human nature and logical orderly rhetoric.

ii. Joseph Glanvill: Defoe's "Learned but inconsistent
Writer" (History of Apparitions, p.44)

Joseph Glanvill's philosophical context is more difficult to define because of the variety of groups, some of them rather irregular in thought and practice, with which he associated and their wide range of belief systems. Most readers consider Glanvill a Cambridge Platonist because of his friendship with Henry More, one of his professors at Cambridge (and who was himself something of a fringe member because of his obsession with witchcraft and apparitions). Affiliated with the Latitudinarians primarily because he favored toleration of all divisions of Protestantism, his training was as an Anglican minister; so he is often grouped with the Anglican philosophers because of his formal background. And yet, he really does not conform to any of these groups, being too radical (because of his beliefs in the occult) for the moderate-to-conservative Anglicans and too conservative (because of his traditional Anglican beliefs) for the Cambridge Platonists.

It is difficult to discuss Glanvill because his rationalism is not rational. It is Glanvill's eclecticism that enables us to assign him shades and values drawn from the Cambridge Platonists, the Latitudinarians, and the Anglican philosophers.¹ This outline of his opinions is necessary to apprehend under what circumstances Defoe enters

the dialogue about the nature of spirits. Glanvill's skepticism, Cambridge Platonism, Latitudinarianism, and Anglicanism indicate a serious lack of personal organization. Defoe offers structure, reason, and theology against Glanvill's piety.

Defoe has three primary disagreements with Glanvill. The first is with Glanvill's rhetoric; the second, that Glanvill focuses indiscriminantly on all of the supernatural, especially witchcraft; the third his distaste for Glanvill's over-zealous fascination with the mechanical operations of apparitions. Although forty years and different primary focuses separate Glanvill's Saduccimus Triumphatus and Defoe's History of Apparitions, both writers present their arguments based on the same model. Both explain theory and opinion primarily in the beginning chapters of each work, followed by examples taken from actual accounts (usually contemporary or "folklorish" tales, although Defoe also relies on his own experiences to provide examples). An outline of Defoe's text reveals that he begins with angels, devils, and the souls of dead people he then moves on to secular stories; and he then concludes his treatise with discussions about deceptions, both intentional (tricks and cheats) and unintentional (whims and fancies). He divides his work into theory and proof, what Rodney Baines calls the sacred and the mundane.

He first analyzed Scriptural apparitions, the Biblical appearances of God, Satan, and the angels. Then in the second and larger portion of the book he told scores of apparition stories, most of them new [not in The Political History of the Devil or A System of Magick], and discussed on secular grounds the reality and origin of apparitions. Finally he advised on how to distinguish between good and evil spirits and how to demean oneself in their presence.

...
The division of material was by not means unusual: sacred evidence was frequently separated from the mundane, for apparitions as well as other phenomena. To argue from the Revealed Word of God in the Holy Scriptures was of course then considered acceptable, and precedence from Scriptural narrative seemed only proper because of their priority and reliability. Defoe was also following the pattern of Joseph Glanvill in *Sadducismus Triumphatus*. In Part II, which comprises the narratives, Glanvill devoted a considerable section to "Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches, from Holy Scripture" before he went on to his "Choice Collection of Modern Relations."

(p.71)

In terms of contemporary apparition theories, there is considerable difference in approach and opinion between Glanvill and Defoe. Defoe agrees with Glanvill on the Christian necessity of believing in apparitions; however he thinks that Glanvill's need for unswerving belief in all things occult is ridiculous. Defoe respects, to an extent, the effort exerted by Glanvill in that cleric's attempts to

resurrect the dying belief in the supernatural. Yet Defoe criticizes Glanvill, specifically, for three reasons: 1) Glanvill's preoccupation with both the mechanical operation and composition of the spirits, 2) his obsession with witchcraft primarily, and all things "occult" secondarily, and 3) his convoluted style, demonstrated not only by what he says, but also in how he says it. Glanvill's prose is where most readers, Defoe included, easily find the most disorderly aspect of this eccentric cleric.

When Glanvill writes about witchcraft and apparitions, he becomes so busy being scientifically accountable and gathering facts that he leaves out religion and faith. Not only does his writing appear to be far more secular, even infected by superstition, than he probably intends and even more than Defoe can support, but also it is disjointed, rough, and lacks serious philosophical and theological coherence as he moves from topic to topic. Even those scholars who study Glanvill, and there have been approximately three in the last hundred years, are forced to admit that not only is his prose careless and unmethodical, but it is too heavily weighted with facts and too little with theories, connections, and reasons. As Greenslet, writing in 1900 complains:

Whether it be from the remoteness
of the subject to our thoughts, from
the peculiar character of the evi-
dence involved, or from some subtle,
adumbrating, unsettling cause innate

in the idea of the supernatural, Glanvill, in writing of witches, is not quite himself. That his reasoning should not be clear and convincing as in his other work is doubtless the effect of the first two causes [England's infamous history of superstition and his friendship with More]. But there is likewise a strange dulness of his literary sense and faculty, which it seems is best referred to the last. In the *Saducismus* there are occasional lapses from good taste through grossness of the imagination which are not paralleled elsewhere in his writings. Here, too, there is much less charm of style, less precision and care of form, than in his other treatises. This might be accounted for in part by the controversial character of the subject; but when all is said, there is still and unexplained residuum from the normal Glanvill,--the inherent bias of the witchcraft epidemic...In the whole matter of the supernatural Glanvill is inclined to attach more weight to evidence than discussion.
(Greenslet, p.159-60).

Because Glanvill's problematic rhetoric muddles his narrative presentation, Defoe sees Glanvill as a wildly sloppy and dangerously silly popular theologian. Defoe does more than flag Glanvill's confusing rhetoric, he satirizes Glanvill's dangerous ideas to show how ridiculous some of his earlier postulating had been.

AS thus there is a Converse of Spirits, an intelligence, or call it what you please, between our Spirits embodied and cased up in Flesh, and the Spirits unembodied; who inhabit the unknown Mazes of the invisible World, those Coasts which our Geo-

graphy cannot describe; who, between
Some-where and *No-where* dwell, none
of us know *where*, and yet we are
sure must have locality, and for
ought we know, are very near us
(History of Apparitions, p. 4)

The object of Defoe's satire is not only the description of the possible locality of spirits, but the difficulty in sorting out the literal meaning of the prose description. Glanvill violates Defoe's two-part law of sound rhetoric, that language must be clear in both what the speaker says and what he means. When you compare Glanvill's and Defoe's prose styles, and how each author approaches their subject matter, Defoe is the rational, reasonable, direct, Christian man of sense. Conversely, Glanvill appears slightly deranged. Defoe is more concerned with how to handle apparitions, and Glanvill is preoccupied with what they are made of, where they reside, and so on. Defoe's interesting position on this very odd topic stems from how he combines logic and faith. He has faith, when Glanvill and others writing about the occult either lose track of it or use it as an answer to every unanswered question. Either option is equally dissatisfying. And Defoe has reason, when these writers seem to lose sight of their purpose, which is to explain what they can about the supernatural. Defoe takes reason to its logical conclusion which is, if he cannot prove something, he won't address the subject. This is a perfect example of practical advice as opposed to theoretical postulating.

As I argued earlier, part of Glanvill's rhetorical problems are covered by his generational gap. Glanvill is caught between the receding Renaissance, where a belief in the supernatural was as natural and normal for the clergy as a belief in God, and the development of rationalism, which administers a healthy dose of skepticism to some very silly people. Greenslet argues that because of Glanvill's subtle objectifying mind he is prone to a keen interest in the supernatural, and that he is very much akin to other great philosophers (from Socrates to Shelley) who trifle in consideration of the occult. Greenslet, when he made this sweeping generalization, perhaps had not read Shelley's poem "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" where it is clear that Shelley finds preoccupations with the occult childish.

While yet a boy I sought for ghosts, and sped
Through many a listening chamber, cave and ruin,
And starlight wood, with fearful steps pursuing
Hopes of high talk with the departed dead.
I called on poisonous names with which our youth is
fed;
I was not heard--I saw them not--
When musing deeply on the lot

I call the phantoms of a thousand hours

They know that never joy illumined my brow
Unlinked with hope that thou wouldst free
This world from its dark slavery,
The thou--O awful LOVELINESS,
Wouldst give whate'er these words cannot express.
(stanzas 5 & 6, lines 49-55, 64, & 68-72)

Perhaps Glanvill's prose is so confusing that he has befuddled Greenslet. Greenslet correctly argues that

Glanvill's lapse of stylistic good taste was because of the conflation of ideas and worlds, not that this devotion to the occult was the product of a weak mind:

It is said that all men are born either Platonists or Aristotelian. If of the former, one may regard Glanvill as a man who, in this matter, laid hold of a great truth, though shrouded in earthly error; if the latter he may profitably meditate upon the question, How far are all of our opinions only the products of the convention and fashion of our age?

(p.176)

Greenslet's conclusions about Glanvill's rhetorical problems finds that it does not matter why he had these problems, except as a explanation of how his ideas were expressed and from whence they came.

Aside from the incongruities inherent in the convoluted of this ideas in Glanvill's writing, there is also the issue of focus. A basic difference in reason and skepticism which existed between Defoe and Glanvill is illustrated by focus. Glanvill's concern is primarily with witchcraft. Apparitions are more of a tangent. Glanvill does not emphasize what, for Defoe, is of real importance. Defoe believes that belief in witchcraft is a delusion. "How far these Magicians, Witches, and other Dealers in these dark Things, have or have not power to cause such Appearances, and to form Apparitions; and how far they impose upon, and delude the World in it, That I may speak of by it self" (History of Apparitions, p.17). He

scorns stories that circulate concerning witches and their powers, believing the Devil does not appear, and therefore facilitate witchcraft, nearly as often, as folktales and gossip would have the population believe. "Not that I am hereby obligated to believe all the strange things the witches and wizards...have said of themselves...I may perhaps convince you that the Devil's possessing power is much lessened of late...he either is limited...or...does not find the old way...so fit for his purpose as he did formerly" (History of the Devil, p. 365). Defoe faces a problem when addressing witchcraft as recorded in the Bible because although he may have been extremely skeptical of contemporary witch accounts, he could not refute Biblical testimony.

It should cause no surprise that Defoe, a devout Puritan who accepted the Bible as entirely reliable, should have accepted the historical reality of witchcraft, for the Bible plainly directs that no witch must be suffered to live...Defoe could hardly dismiss the authority of the Bible.

(Baines, p.66)

Defoe would be suspicious of a man like Glanvill, who not only believed completely in the existence of witches, but also condemned anyone as an atheist who did not believe in witchcraft. Glanvill collected accounts of witches that he considered to be factual. Defoe thinks that anyone who

practices the black arts is a cheat, and anyone who believes in it a fool.

When it comes to witchcraft, Defoe must critique Glanvill for two separate violations on two specific topics. The first is how Glanvill approaches biblical witchcraft. The second is how Glanvill relates information by which to theorize about contemporary witchcraft. Both Defoe and Glanvill spend an inordinate amount of time on the Witch of Endor story from the Old Testament (1 Samuel). This story was at the center of the controversial witchcraft dilemma for most theological scholars of Glanvill's day. Readers who are rational, like Defoe, should agree that the story, itself, is incoherent. Glanvill's already muddled rhetoric only makes the conclusions that he draws from the story even more obtuse. The story appears in 1 Samuel, chapter 28.

3 Now Samuel was dead, and all Israel lamented him, and buried him in Ramah, even in his own city. And Saul had put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land.

4 And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa.

5 And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled.

6 And when Saul enquired of the LORD, the LORD answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by .

7 Then said Saul unto his servants, Seek me a woman that hath a

familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his servants said to him, *there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at ENDOR.*

8 And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and he went, and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night: and he said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me *him* up, whom I shall name unto thee.

9 And the woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar spirits and wizards, out of the land: wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to die?

10 And Saul swore to her by the LORD, saying, *AS* the LORD liveth, there shall be no punishment to thee for this thing.

11 Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel.

12 And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spoke to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.

13 And the king said unto her, Be not afraid: for what sawest thou? And the woman said unto Saul, I saw gods ascending out of the earth.

14 And he said unto her, What form *is* he of? And she said, An old man cometh up: and he *is* covered with a mantle. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with *his* face to the ground, and bowed himself.

15 And Samuel said unto Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up? And Saul answered, I am sore distressed; for the Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by , nor by dreams; therefore I have called thee, that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do.

16 Then said Samuel, Wherefore then thou dost ask of me, seeing the LORD is departed from thee, and is become thine enemy?

17 And the LORD hath done to him, as he spoke by me: for the LORD hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbor, even to David.

18 Because thou obeyest not the voice of the LORD, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath the LORD done this thing unto thee this day.

19 Moreover the LORD will also deliver Israel with thee into the hands of the Philistines: and tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me: the LORD also shall deliver the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistines.

(1 Sam., 28:3-19)

There are two points of contention at which Defoe and Glanvill collide in their readings of this story because of their relationship to religious doctrines. The first is whether or not the witch actually conjured the vision. The second is whether or not the apparition is actually the soul of Samuel. Defoe finds one of Glanvill's most thoroughly analyzed stories to be morally and theologically unsound.

The second debated point concerning whether or not Samuel's soul actually appears is equally difficult to comprehend. In A Philosophical Endeavor, Glanvill attacks those writers who believe that Samuel never did appear before Saul, those who concluded that the vision was the Devil in disguise. Glanvill's response is that, of course Samuel's spirit and not the Devil's appeared to Saul. Samuel's

reproof indicates that he wasn't sent from Hell, being sent specifically from God. The subject matter that Samuel relates and the rhetorical criteria established by the piety of his speech overturns Glanvill's jumble (i.e. "Because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath the Lord done this thing unto thee this day" 28:18). First Glanvill affirms that it was Samuel's soul and then adds the disclaimer that the Bible tells us that often good spirits have impersonated souls (as mentioned above).

Defoe's blunt analysis of the subject reflects his clear, emphatic, and rhetorically reprimanding prose style.

AS to the Appearance of *Samuel*, rais'd by the Witch, I despise it, as it is offer'd in the Capacity of a Soul, much more as the Unembodied Soul of *Samuel*: which tho' it might have been caus'd to appear, as the Sovereign of all Spirits, with whom the Soul of *Samuel* is at Rest, had thought fit; yet could no more be summon'd from that Rest, by the Conjururation of an old Witch, than the *Devil* could fetch it out of Heaven by Force. Nor was it likely that God, who refus'd so much as to speak to that abandon'd Prince, whom he had so righteously rejected, and that would answer him neither by *Urim*, or by *Thummim*, that would neither hear his Prayer, or accept his Offering, would hear a Witch, a Creature likewise sentenc'd to Death by his own righteous Law, and send *Samuel* at her infernal Paw-wawing from Heaven, to tell *Saul* that tomorrow he should be cut in Pieces by the *Philistines*; there seems to be

no consistency at all in it, no,
none at all.

(p.45-6)

Defoe's reliance upon the importance of sound rhetoric, reminds readers of his reasons why the Witch of Endor story is rhetorically unsound, and therefore suspect. The reasons for his dismissing the story follow the six divisions mentioned earlier. That the soul of Samuel, being dead and at rest, can not appear, ever: "...with whom [God] the Soul of Samuel is at Rest..." (p.45). The second is that the Devil has no power over the dead who have gone to heaven and by extension of good, itself: "...then the Devil could fetch it out of Heaven by Force..." (p.46). The third is the sign of Puritan Providentialism: "...God, who refus'd so much as to speak to that abandon'd Prince, whom he had so righteously rejected..." (p.46). The fourth is that any involvement with witches or witchcraft is a mortal sin: "...would hear a Witch, a Creature likewise sentenc'd to Death by his own righteous Law..." (p.46). The fifth is that the rhetoric of witches, and by extension witchcraft, is characteristically irrational and crazed: "...and send *Samuel* at her infernal Paw-wawing..." (p.46). The final one is that correct rhetoric, both in the description of the visitation and the explanation of the connected events, must be, above everything else, consistent: "...there seems to be no consistency at all in it, no, none at all." (p.46). Defoe explains that the appearance, at the witch's summons, was a

specter that impersonated Samuel. "THE Appearance of the Thing call'd *Samuel*, was, in my Opinion, neither more or less than a Phantasm or Spectre" (p.46). Defoe believes that the witch did not conjure anything and that it was a good spirit sent by God to tell of the retribution let loose upon Saul for his crime of forsaking God, "...And who, at the Witch's Summons, and by Heaven's Permission, came up to pronounce the dreadful Sentence upon *Saul*, and let him see what was the effect of his forsaking God, and rejecting his Prophet *Samuel*" (p.46). This may appear to violate rules four and five, but because Saul turned to the witch for advice, a mortal sin, he was sentenced to death (point four), and the witch's confused rhetoric, the conjuring process, fits Defoe's description of "Paw-Wawing" (point five).

As for the witch's crafty powers, Defoe believes her to be a fake. "For when *Saul* applies to her, she asks him, Whom shall I bring up? intimating that she was able to bring up who she would, either from *Heaven* or *Hell*. This Boldness plainly infers, that she had no power at all" (p.48). His primary argument, as voiced in the above quotation and under the application of point five in his earlier argument, is that the apparition is doing is God's work. The witch is in league with the Devil. Neither the Devil, his minions, nor his helpers on Earth have the inclination to do God's work. Nor have they the power to force anyone's soul out of heaven (point two of Defoe's guidelines). These specific details,

when added to his more general commentary arguing witchcraft to be fake, only proves his sixth reason: that the Witch of Endor did not have the ability to "bring up" this apparition.

Another indication of the powerlessness of the witch, as Defoe notices, happens when she cries out (1Sam. 28:12). Defoe believes that she was surprised because she did not recognize the visitor. Since she is a witch, she is by definition in league with the Devil, and she would have come to recognize Satan or one of his minions from, literally, their working relationship. Therefore, this apparition was from heaven. The witch may not have expected to see the other spirits rising from the Earth (1Sam. 28:13), and this may have contributed to her surprise.

Defoe bases his claim that the spirit was sent from heaven, on the spirit's ability to prophesy. He says that the Devil has no ability to see into the future. "This indeed has something difficult in it, because the *Devil* is not allow'd to be a Prophet, or able to predict what is to come" (p.48). If it were the Devil, he would not be able to know of Saul's fate. A spirit sent from God would be endowed by God with the gift of prophecy and would, thereby, be able to inform Saul of his impending doom, as happens in detail (28:18-19).

Therefore he concludes that the apparition was not the actual soul of the deceased Samuel. Rather the vision

speaker's claim to have been "brought up" was a rhetorical device.

As for the Spectre's speaking in the Name of *Samuel* in the Scripture, and the Text representing it as if it were real *Samuel* himself, I Sam. xxviii. 15. *And Samuel said to Saul, why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?* I take it to be an expression *ad Hominem*, to the common Understanding, and to be understood as all Allegorick or Figurative Expressions are understood; and it no more proves that it was *Samuel*, and is no more to be taken literally, than the other Words in the same Verse are to be literally understood.

(p.47)

Defoe remains steadfast to stock Christian belief that once a body is deceased the soul either goes to heaven, or to hell, and there it stays:

FIRST, They must have a very mean Opinion of the future State, and the exalted Condition of the Blessed, that can imagine they are to be interrupted in their Joy...which does not correspond with the high Thoughts we are directed to entertain of the perfect Felicity of that State, of which Eye has not seen, or Ear heard, or Heart conceived.

SECONDLY, They must have likewise very mean Thoughts of the State of everlasting Misery, who can think that the Spirits in Prison can get loose from those determined Chains, to come hither and attend upon the Trifles of Life; nor do I know whether it would be worth their shifting Hell, and coming back to this World in the wandering Con-

dition those Things call'd Ghosts
are understood to be; or intend to
reassume a Body, without making Life
a State of farther Probation.

(p.96)

It must have been a good spirit who took on the form and figure of Samuel (this is from point four), sent by God, for the souls of the dead which are in heaven do not visit the Earth, and those souls who have been damned to hell can not.²

Because Defoe believes that witchcraft is a bogus practice that defrauds the superstitious, and that souls, when the body dies, go either to heaven or to hell and stay there, Glanvill's opinion on familiar spirits would have been blasphemy. The Devil has been chained. Defoe states:

THAT he has upon special Occasions
appear'd in former Times is certain,
as well from Scripture as from an-
cient History,...If it appears that
he has been here, then 'tis very
probable that his Chain is long
enough, and that he is allow'd the
Liberty to come so far from Home.
For we have no Authority to say, or
to believe, that his Tether is
shorten'd, or that he is more re-
strain'd now than ever he was
before.

(p.22)

The key phrase concerning the Devil's chain is "allow'd the Liberty," for Defoe argues the Devil and his minions are only allowed (by the length of his chain) to create mischief.

As for the extent of Satan's powers, the orthodox Defoe states that God controls the Devil.

SATAN is a conquer'd, subdu'd Enemy: and these [the good spirits or angels] indeed were his Conquerors, and are still his Terror; He abhors them, and hates them, and flees before them: And what if I should say they were placed in this situation, (namely, in the invisible Regions near and about this World) for this very Reason, viz. to keep under this Arch-Enemy and Rebel? as a conquering Prince having obtained a glorious Victory over a powerful Rebel, tho' he retires from the Country with his Troops, the War being over, yet he leaves a good Body of Forces to keep the Peace of the Country, and to awe the Rebels from any farther Attempt.

THUS they are Guardian Angels really, and in the very Letter of it, without being oblig'd to attend at every particular Man's Ear or Elbow. Mankind are thus truly said to be in the Hands of God always; and Providence, which constantly works by means and Instruments, has the Government of the World actually in his Administration, not only by his infinite Power, but by immediate Deputation, and the subdued Devil is a Prisoner of War both chain'd and restrain'd.

(p.57-8)

God does not instruct Satan to commit evil acts, but those acts are allowed because the Devil is imprisoned not destroyed. The Devil operates within the bounds of his chains as a "Prisoner of War." The defeated enemy, the Devil, is allowed to remain, but he is forever restricted. Defoe argues that the Devil can not harm us physically, as God utilizes lowers orders of good spirits (or guardian angels) to protect man from the evil of the Devil.

Lastly Defoe dismisses Glanvill's concerns about the physiology of the spirit. Defoe does not enter into the dialogue on what substance the spirit is comprised, where they exist when not on Earth, or how they came to be, "As to what these Spirits therefore are, where they reside, what Circumstances they are in, and how they have access to our Understandings, I acknowledge the Difficulty to be great, and do not pretend to enter upon it here" (p.33). He ignores what the composition of our souls may be because many of the investigations are whimsical, "whether there is any such thing as a Mass of Soul, as a learned but pretty much inconsistent Writer [Glanvill] calls it...this I confess is to me something unintelligible, looks a little *Platonic*, and as if it were akin to the Transmigration-Whimsie of the Ancients" (p.44). The reasons he does not want look at this question are: 1) he does not want to commit the sin of pride that the "learned but pretty much inconsistent writer" stumbles into, and 2) he refuses to conjecture about the soul's composition, or material. He can't prove it because it will "not bear a proof."

I do not by this affirm that this is so, and that a spirit may thus assume a real case of flesh and blood; for I resolve to affirm nothing that will not bear a proof, and to suggest nothing without probability, in all this work.

(p.5)

Defoe would have here seen the sin of pride committed in Glanvill's rigorous pursuit of empirical data and scientific investigation concerning the nature of apparitions. Defoe points out, and does so quite often, that what we should be most concerned with is the message, not the messenger. The message will define the messenger. An apparition is not a dead person's soul, it is a spirit sent on special assignment by God; and we can identify the type of messenger by the type of message (whether it is good or evil). One judges the "goodness" or "badness" by rhetoric; this is exactly what Defoe does to Glanvill.

Despite their major differences, Defoe did find some positive aspects in Glanvill's investigation into spirits. Defoe takes three features from him: 1) a hierarchy among the spiritual world, 2) a highly-ordered structure inherent in the governance of operations of both heaven and hell, and 3) delineation of certain restrictions placed on both good and evil spirits. Defoe and Glanvill also agree that our imagination does more to exacerbate a visitant's confusion than to aid in deciphering it. Our minds make more of a situation than is actually there, Defoe says, or even go so far as to create a fictional visitation from psychological distress (i.e. guilt).

The first feature Defoe adopts from Glanvill is spiritual organization. For Glanvill, there are levels of spirits in both heaven and hell, and each level has various

kinds of spirits assigned to it. In A Philosophical Endeavor, he says that spirits differ in kinds and degree, ranging from natural perfection to complete depravity, and that they are ranked from the superior to the inferior. He says that there are good spirits whose function is to interpose, even govern, in our affairs. God manages the levels of Angels set in government from highest to lowest (p.12). However, what he says about ranking remains incomplete.

Defoe, in ordering the spirits, assumes that we understand that there are good spirits. He also assumes that, "by Angels Good and Bad, I suppose I may be easily understood to mean what you all think you mean when you sort or rank them into only two Kinds, viz. Angels or Devil; in which vulgar and general, not to say foolish way of expressing it, I humbly conceive the self-wise World much mistaken" (25). The world is self-wise to Defoe, because the vulgar men think they can know inappropriate levels divine activity, but he explains that they can not. When he categorizes the good spirits or angels by their degree, Defoe describes heaven as working in governmental, almost Hobbesian, fashion, with Providence as, "the administration of Heaven's Government in the World" (p.37). That governmental structures are created by man to govern society reflects heaven's. Defoe believes that man is a social creature and that government for him was part of natural law (see Novak, p.16). Hobbes says that God is the author of

natural law: "They are called the laws of nature, for that they are the dictates of natural reason; and also moral laws, because they concern men's manners and conversations one towards another; so are they also divine law in respect of the author thereof, God Almighty" (p.99). Defoe reasons that heaven has a governing structure to sustain it, as Hobbes has reasoned that men need a government and that man's government is based on natural law created by God. If man acts in accordance with natural law, and the Bible tells us that we were created in God's image, then our governing body is a reflection of heaven's because it is based on laws written by God and assembled by God's self-reflexive image.

Defoe details the different levels or degrees of angels, in heaven's government, whose various functions are all delineated by their castes.

IS it at all irrational to suppose, or improbable to be, that God may have made a Degree of angels or of ministring Spirits (whether they are angelick, or of other Species is not for us to determine) who may be of a differing Degree, appointed for a differing Residence, and to different Employments from the superior Angels, for a Season?

AS there are different Degrees of Glory in Heaven, Stars of different Magnitude and Lustre in the Firmament, so may there not be differing Quality and Degrees of Power and Favour? why else are they called *Thrones, and Dominions, Principalities, and Powers?* they are all Titles of Honour given to the Angels in the Scripture, *Eph. i. 21.* and

vi. 12. If there be several Titles, there must be several Degrees.

THERE can be no Superior, if there are no inferior: what can we understand by Thrones and Principalities in Heaven, but Degrees of Angels? Besides, what do we understand by Angels and Arch-Angels?...

IF there are Angels which are not Arch-Angels, but of an inferior Degree; so there may be also different Degrees among the Angels which are not Arch-Angels; and some of these may be appointed to their Residence in the Air or Atmosphere of this World, (Earth) or within the Compass of this particular Solar System...

(p.54-55)

Defoe organizes the employments and the types of angels, in accordance with the natural order of the world, reflecting God's goodness; he also describes this government by a careful series of suggestions. Each angel, created with certain talents, by natural law acts in accordance with his employment division. Using qualified language is the only way Defoe can approach this topic with appropriate humility. Defoe also emphasizes that the souls of dead people should not be included within the arrangement of his hypothesis. Therefore saints have no place in heaven's administration. "I exclude no Species of Spirits, but the departed unembodied Souls of Men" (p.55).

For three reasons, Defoe categorizes the various levels and types of evil spirits with even less detail in History of Apparitions than Glanvill. First, he cannot attempt to explain the ways of God. That is, he will not venture

certain information about sacred knowledge. Secondly, Defoe has already outlined the organization of evil spirits, to a degree, in two other works The Political History of the Devil and A System of Magick both of which appear a year earlier, in 1726, immediatley before History of Apparitions is published.

In these two occult books Defoe discussed at some length the number and order of the fallen angels, their habitation and domain, their corporeity and form, their power, especially their knowledge or foreknowledge, the mode of their attack upon mankind, and their unwitting human tools and their knowing accomplices.

(Baines, p.38)

The Political History of the Devil is a historical recounting of the Devil's escapades. A System of Magick concentrates on recording spells, charms, incantations, etc. from a variety of locations and societies. They both served the same type of purpose as History of Apparitions, to instruct Christians on the proper degree of attention that spirits are due; however the two prior books focuses on evil and the Devil, and History of Apparitions focuses on good and God. The third reason that he seems to spend less time on the evil spirits than on the good is because he had not previously categorized the good spirits, Rodney Baines pointing out that History of Apparitions is primarily focused on "angelology" (p.13).

A method by which Defoe orders spirits is to define their level in heaven by their occupations. The spirits are designed for specific employments and are limited to only those tasks for which they are designed. Accordingly, Defoe explains spiritual functions--and limitations--in great detail.

THO' we see nothing of them, they see us; tho' we know nothing of them, they know and are conversant about us, are capable of being affected and moved in our Behalf, and to concern themselves for our Good on many Accounts: Hence they often give us Notices and Warnings of Evil attending us, tho' they cannot act so upon material Objects, as to interfere with our Affairs, over-rule our Fate, or direct us how to avoid the Evils which they foresee, or to embrace the Good which they see attending us...As they can thus communicate things to our Imagination, so we may suppose that in our Prosecution of that beneficent Concern which they have for us, they can frequently and do assume human Shape, and come to us, talk to us, and converse intimately with us in Apparition and by Voice, nay even in Dialogue, Question and Answer, as they see Occasion.

(p.59-60)

In human shape, good spirits "give us Notices and Warnings" but "cannot act so on material objects." If we fail to understand their message, it is, in part, our fault. Either we disbelieve and question what we have seen, or we misinterpret any visitation to be an evil one, and therefore neglect the good advice we might be given. Defoe does wonder

why apparitions cannot be more convincing in communicating their message, but he assumes this is their limitation, as our interpretations are limited by human nature and our imagination and in our limited state we would be committing the sin of pride were we to venture to explain those limitations.

Defoe is more clear than Glanvill when he states that the Devil is not permitted to harm us. However the Devil, even though chained, deceives by trying to convince us that he can harm us.

1. THAT where the *Devil* appears, he always does it like a *Devil*, for some wicked Purpose or other.

2. WHERE he cannot prevail and excite to do Mischief, he assaults with Rage, and threatens with suffering Mischief.

...
take the Apparition in general, whether of good or bad Spirits, they never, or very rarely, do any harm. As for the good Spirits, we know, as above, they will do none; and if the bad ones do not; 'tis because they can't.

(p.199)

Defoe repeatedly reminds his readers that spirits, whether good or evil, have no power to harm us. "THE good Spirits, 'tis certain, will do no harm; it is by their general appearing for good, that we determine them to be good Spirits; and that kind of Judgement is certainly very just" (p.199). We judge the action by the rhetoric of the visitation, comprehending what the message relays, and thus

we judge the visitor by its rhetoric. The message will be shaped, however, by the powers of the human imagination. Defoe distinguishes between fancy and the actions of guilt upon our consciousness. Fancy is when what we believe we see is not the same as what is actually there. Both fancy and guilt are an analysis of human error based on fear; one is inadvertent, the other criminal. A guilty conscience, quite probably, has nothing to do with an apparition because it very often creates a delusion. Both are products of an overactive imagination because guilt conjures phantoms.

DANGER may be the Reason of Caution; but Guilt only is the Reason of Fear. Caution is the Mind's just Regard of the Evil in view; but Fear is a Horror of the Soul, in apprehension of some farther Evil yet out of view; unseen, and therefore terrible; merited, and therefore dreadful.

IF there were no Guilt in the Mind, Death it self would be no evil, and therefore not the Subject of our Fear; nor is Death it self our Fear now as it is in it self a meer passing out of life, otherwise than as it is an inlet of some terrible State beyond it....

THIS State beyond Death is made our Terror, as we expect in it the Punishment of Offenses, a Retribution for an ill-spent Life, and as we have upon our Minds a Sense of Guilt; that is to say, a Conscience of having ill-spent our past time, and dreading the Justice of the superior Hand, in whom is the Power of Rewards and Punishments.

(p.191-192)

Caution, then is instinctual and, by extension, natural and rational. Guilt is a reaction of the mind to an evil action. This balance between wrong action and guilty reaction causes fear of retribution. We know that punishment will be dispensed when we die. The combination of guilt and fear cause our imagination to create fictitious visions that force us to admit our wrong action. This is how guilt causes us to see an apparition that never was there.

Defoe thinks of one's life as an inventory set down on a ledger sheet which, by the end of one's life, must balance. Guilt, then, is providence attempting to correct the evil or wrong action so that an individual's ledger sheet will balance for the "Great Audit" (p.51). The utility of visions, then, is so one does not end up in the red.

iii. Defoe: The Practical Puritan

An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions is Defoe's answer to several theological, philosophical, and psychological questions that apparitions raise. I must here add to the questions that I raised at the beginning of this work, what is the nature and source of factual perception adding the qualifier, and what are its, and our own, limitations? Factual perception, for Defoe, is what God permits us. Its nature and source are defined by the situation. We are limited by our imperfections resulting

from the Fall. Defoe is trying to lead people back to a sacred way of dealing with the secular, while attempting to shield us from the foolish and superstitious. Defoe instructs his reader to be rational, rhetorically sound, and pious.

That we may then be perfectly easy about this undetermin'd thing call'd Apparition, I have endeavor'd here to bring the thing into a narrow Compass, and to see it in a true light. I have first given you several Specimens of real Apparitions, well attested, and the truth of them so affirm'd, that they may be depended upon: If in any of them I am not so well assur'd of the Fact, tho' they may be as certain, yet I have frankly told you so, and adher'd to the Moral only: But all together may convince the Reader of the Reason and Reality of the thing it self.

On the other hand, I have given you Specimens of those Amusements and Delusions which have been put upon the World for Apparitions; and you may see the difference is so Notorious, (whether the Cheat be Political or Whimsical, Magical or Imaginary,) that no Man can be easily deceiv'd, that will but make use of the Eyes of his Understanding, as well as those in his Head.

(p.v)

In order to support his examinations of apparition theory, Defoe not only measures the writers of apparitions against his standards of logic, clarity, and piety, but also he sizes up the accounts of visitation based on the same method. What is left, after all the theory has been put

forth, is a collection of stories used to support his method against other inventions. The stories that appear in History of Apparitions were, I believe, collected mostly from Defoe's day to day life. He begins many stories by announcing that he had heard the story either from gossip, general news, or his friends have related their experiences. A number of stories probably came from Defoe himself (see Baines, p.25). Con-temporary sources make up the bulk of Defoe's stories, the remainder are biblical and classical. I believe that Defoe chose the stories included based on two factors: the story's usefulness as a positive or negative example of the point he was trying to make and how current it was in popular memory. The classical and biblical examples would have been common knowledge from exposure in schools and church. All stories must live up to all of the criteria (rational, rhetorically sound, and religious) by which he measures his opposition.

In chapter fifteen, Defoe makes a point of providing several stories that have as their theme imaginary apparitions, the most disapproved of being, a master, his servant, and, perhaps, what they encounter on the way home from a friend's house late one night. Defoe introduces the master by describing an already agitated mental state.

A SOBER grave Gentleman, who must not wear a Name in our Story, because it was rather a Distemper in his Mind than a real Deficiency of Brains had, by a long Disuse of the

sprightly part of his Sense, which he really had no want of at other times, suffer'd himself to sink a little too low in his Spirits, and let the *Hypochondria* emit too strongly in Vapour and Fumes up into his Head. This had its Fits and Intervals; sometimes he was clear-sighted, and clear-headed, but at other Times he saw Stars at Noon-day, and *Devils* at Night: In a word, the World was an Apparition to his Imagination, when the *Flatul* prevail'd, and the Spleen boil'd up; all of which he could give no account, nor could he assist the Operation of Physick by any of his own Powers toward a Cure.

(p.370)

The reader perhaps laughs, as does Defoe, at this poor man's dementia. But within this humorous exaggeration of the gentleman's mental state is the more serious consideration of the man's rational state before he saw the apparition; the entire world "was an Apparition to his Imagination" (p.370). Defoe has provided a background for his eccentric main character who might have moments of clarity, but when he was insensible, he was beyond even the help of medical science. As one definition of physick is as a laxative used to relieve constipation, so perhaps Defoe infers a physick to relieve something more than a "Distemper in his Mind." And whatever the medicine that is proffered, Defoe prepares the reader is prepared to discern that whatever the man may encounter, the apparition results from his irrational state, nothing more.

As the master and his servant, Gervais, wander somewhat erratically home, Defoe hints that this man was drunk.

It happen'd that he was abroad at a Friend's House later than ordinary one Night, but being Moon-light, and a Servant with him, he was easy, and was observed to be very chearful, and even *Merry*, with a great deal of good Humor, more than had been observed of him for a great while before.

(p.370)

That the man knew his way home very well, even though he was drunk, signals that this man will encounter something unfamiliar, something for which he is unprepared. The gentleman was also well-mounted, Defoe emphasizesing this point because it is one of the reasons that he becomes separated from his servant, another dangerous thing to do. On their way home:

...an Accident which a little disorder'd him was, that it was not only cloudy, but a very thick, black Cloud came suddenly, (that is to say, without his Notice, so it was suddenly to him) and spread over his Head, which made it very dark; and to add to the Disorder, it began to rain violently.

(p.370)

Defoe repeats the word "disordered" and uses other disjoining phrases like "accident," "without his Notice," and "suddenly" to signal to the reader that disorder causes one to stray from the path of providence. Defoe's language informs the reader that this man, because he lacks order, and by extension lacks reason, will encounter a problem. As readers recognize those signal words to mean that the gentleman has

invited trouble. The rain and darkness, "as it was a little unexpected perhaps made him ride the harder, rather than abate his Pace" (p.370-371). His haste, to escape the rain, was the other reason that he became separated from Gervais. Again, the use of the word "unexpected" is another of Defoe's signaling devices.

The gentleman begins to cross a bridge that is over a small river. The story is full of symbolic images and structures, i.e. the river equalling time and the bridge as a means of passing over time. Of the bridge, Defoe says it was, "well walled on both sides; so there was no Danger there, more than any where else" (p.370) which actually foreshadows the outcome of the story; there was really no danger there at all. The gentleman tries to cross going full speed, when his horse stops on the bridge. His horse then continues on, only to stop again after just a few steps. When the gentleman looks ahead to see what the trouble was, "he could observe what the Horse was scared at, saw two broad staring Eyes, which, as he said, look'd him full in the Face" (p.371).

The gentleman was frightened at the sight. As Gervais catches up to him, he hears his master say, "-----*Bless me, it is the Devil!*" (p.371). The master, having been disordered by drink and climate, has strayed off the providential path into the hands of the Devil. The gentleman believes he sees a "great black Bear, and consequently [it]

must be the *Devil*" (p.371). He believes the vision to be a bear because it had broad eyes. The combination of the gentleman's irrational conclusions and the ironic tone that Defoe uses indicate to the reader that Defoe is doing two things: 1) he is making fun of the conclusion, and 2) he is pointing out the more serious side of being insensible, which generates the potential for wandering of the familiar path into danger.

Gervais, afraid of being asked to go first, lags behind and watches his master's horse fly home first. The master arrives at his house and, "swoon'd away, and the Fright had had such an effect upon him, that when with much Difficulty they had brought him to himself, he continued very ill" (p.372). By bringing him to himself, the reader is to understand that the 'himself' he is to be brought to is the disordered creature from Defoe's description at the beginning. Defoe indicates that the whole house was in an uproar over the situation. The gentleman has brought his unreasonable behavior upon his home and family who were, "as much over-run with the *Hyppo*⁴ as himself" (p.372). He tells everyone that he encountered the Devil in the form of a bear.

Meanwhile, Gervais arrives home and tells everyone in the stables the same story with one exception: "...that his master was in great Danger of being thrown over the Wall of the Bridge, for that his horse was frightened by an Ass" (p.372). It is both absurd to believe anyone might confuse

a donkey and a bear and also that either one would have been put there simply to scare the poor man. Defoe wants the reader to ask himself: what would the Devil's purpose be for this appearance, other than to make an ass out of the gentleman? Defoe believes that the Devil would hardly waste his time simply to scare an already weak-minded individual, for where is the challenge or reward? And if the Devil does waste his time on this man, then, Defoe could be implying, that the Devil is a bigger ass than the gentleman. Defoe wants the reader to see that this man's irrational behavior has not only caused him to see a false apparition, but that the same behavior has led him straight to the Devil.

Gervais, interrogated by the other servants who have heard their master's version of the story, insists that it was, in fact, a donkey because, "for as soon as my Master got by it, I rid up to it and thresh'd it with my Stick, and it fell a braying, which you know is an ugly Noise" (p.373). Unfortunately for Gervais, his master's story had circulated around the town, so when his was made known, it reduced his master to an ass for believing a donkey could be confused with a bear or the Devil. As a consequence, the town mocks the master and Gervais is fired. However, the master's family still insists that it was the Devil.

Defoe ends this story with prophetic humor, " 'tis impossible to perswade any Vapourish Body, that they have not seen the *Devil*, if they have but seen something, and that

they are very sure, they are not sure what it is" (p.373). Any person, who is predisposed to irrational behavior, will create a fantastic explanation for a situation, and no rational or reasonable truths will bring them back to a right way of thinking. Defoe had measure this story against his rule of rationality and found it to be a false apparition by nature of reason and fact. It was proved, by Gervais, that the creature that scared his master was a burro. But it was also proved, by Defoe, that the gentleman's disordered behavior is what really caused the apparition, and by extension scared the man.

Defoe exposes the gentleman in the previous story through his use of rhetoric to describe the personality of the man. His words signal the reader to beware of putting too much trust in the man's story. In Defoe's twelfth chapter, he compares two different published accounts of the story of the Duke of Buckingham to show the reader how to judge the soundness of the rhetoric used in telling the story. If the rhetoric proves to be faulty, then either it is because of the author (either through embellishments or an unreliable source) or because it is not a true apparition. Of another story, Defoe says, "That when you meet with any Story told in such a manner [faulty rhetoric], they should conclude it a fiction, a cheat; that it is only a Story made by invention of Story-Makers, a Delusion, and that no Spirit

or Apparition really coming upon any Message from the Invisible World, ever talks after that manner" (p.274-5).

The story of the Duke of Buckingham's murder was very well known. Defoe has chosen two authors who recorded the story, John Aubrey and Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, to contrast an unsoundly written account with a logical and orderly one. Aubrey's version is only three-quarters of a page long, as compared with Clarendon's, which is almost five full pages in length. To begin his analysis, Defoe begins with Aubrey's account. The first, and most flagrant flaw in Aubrey's text occurs when the ghost of Sir George Villiers appears to Mr. Towes and says, "I am dead, but cannot Rest in Peace for the Wickedness and Abomination of my Son *George* at Court" (p.281). The reader already knows that Defoe believes that the souls of dead people do not appear on the Earth, because he has said this repeatedly through his text before he retells the story, so his skeptical response is not surprising.

THIS Part of the Story indeed is calculated like a true Chimney-corner Piece of News; The Sir *George*, who was dead, should say he could not rest in Peace for the Wickedness and Abomination of his Son *George* at Court.

PREPOSTEROUS! What State must old Sir *George* be in? If in a State of Misery, what does he mean by *resting in Peace*? if in a State of Blessedness, what could his Son do to impeach his Rest? And if we shall give any weight to what the Scripture says in that Case, he knew nothing

of him, let his own State, or his
Son's *Abominations* (as he calls
them) be what they would.
(p.281)

First Defoe tells us that this story's rhetoric is no sounder than idle gossip ("Chimney-corner Piece of News"), then he explains, rather vehemently, that this is because it is not based on the Scriptures. And to contradict the Scriptures is, for Defoe, a quite serious flaw to religious or theological right thinking.

After Defoe cites the Biblical reference (Job 14:19-21) to support his contention, which comes immediately following the above quotation, he points out the next mistake in Aubrey's rhetoric.

How then, could Sir George Villers say, several Years after he was dead too, that he could not rest in Peace? What! had he been at Rest and in Peace, and was he disquieted again by his Son George's Wickedness? that does not hang together at all. This old Knight had been dead for several Years before his Son George came to rise at Court; when he did rise, he was not immediately so abominably wicked as he was afterward: Where was the Soul of Sir George the Father, all the while? his Rest could not be disturb'd 'till the Circumstances that disturb'd it happen'd.
(p.282).

Defoe's question indicates that the account is void of the specific details needed for the rhetoric fit together, and, by extension, for the story to be true.

He contrasts Aubrey's with Clarendon's account by general comment that the latter's is more sensible, and then with the specific point that Clarendon's narrator is proven to be more reliable.

BUT my Lord *Clarendon* tells this same Story, with much more Probability of Truth; for first he leaves out the Absurdity, which indeed his Lordship was too wise a Man to impose upon the World with the Sanction of his Authority, nor was there sense enough in it to give it Credit.

IN the next Place he does not make the Person to whom Sir *George Villers* appear'd, be a Equal, and an Intimate Friend, but one that had liv'd in the same Town where sir *George* had liv'd, and had not seen him for many Years, but recollected him from the Cloaths he had seen him wear; whereas the Story above makes them dear Friends, which if it had been so, it was not likely he [the son] should refuse to hear the Message, and yet he scruples it very much.

(p.282)

Clarendon's version leaves out the ghost's speech about not being able to rest because of his son's bad behavior; this is the "absurdity" Defoe notes in Aubrey's account. Defoe reasons that a man of Clarendon's abilities recognizes that the idea was unreasonable and, therefore, deserved to be ignored. The language assigned to the ghost, in Aubrey's account, makes no sense. Clarendon's version is rather different, the message is told in the third person: "That he

[the narrator] should go from him to his Son the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tell him, if he did not somewhat ingratiate himself to the People, or at least to abate the extreme Malice which they had against him, he would be suffer's to live but a short time" (p.284). Aubrey's version condenses matters and changes the issue in the message from the Duke's wickedness to his popularity.

The narrative persona helps to establish credible rhetoric and explains the part of the story concerning admission to see the Duke. Aubrey's narrator is a Mr. Nicholas Towes, "who had been [a] School-fellow with Sir George Villers, the Father of the first Duke of *Buckingham*, and was his Friend and Neighbor" (p.281). Clarendon's narrator is a man, who remains unnamed throughout his account, appears to be an Officer of the King's Wardrobe at Windsor and who had known Sir George previously, "THIS Man in his Youth had been bred in a School in the Parish where Sir George Villers, the Father of the Duke, Liv'd, and had been much cherish'd and oblig'd in that Season of his Age by the said Sir George, whom afterwards he never saw" (p.283). Defoe accurately points out, in the above account, that the Duke would have been familiar with Mr. Towes because of his friendship with his father, Sir George. This being the case, it would be unlikely that Mr. Towes would need a proof to convince the Duke that his message was true (from Aubrey's account), "Said Mr. Towes, The Duke will not believe me, but

will say I am mad, or doat. Said Sir *George* Go to him from me, and tell him by such a Token (a Mole) that he had in some secret Place, which none but himself knew of" (p.281). Also it is unlikely that the Duke would laugh at a family friend's warning (from Aubrey's Account), "Mr. *Towes* went to the Duke, who *laugh'd at his Message*" (p.281).

The narrator in Clarendon's account, being much farther removed from the Duke than Aubrey's close friend of the Duke's father, has to go through an arduous process in gain admission into the Duke's company. He goes to a mutual friend, Sir Ralph Freeman, who causes the Duke to hear the man's message. This narrator also tells the apparition that he believes the Duke won't believe his story. The apparition tells the narrator, "...and for gaining him Credit, he would tell him two or three Particulars, which he charged him never to mention to any Person living but to the Duke himself; and he should no sooner hear them but he should believe all the rest he should say" (p.285). When the narrator relays the "Particulars" to the Duke, "...the Duke's Color chang'd and he swore he could come at that Knowledge only by the *Devil*, for that those particulars were only known to himself and to one Person more, who he was sure would never speak of it" (p.287). Clarendon's version has the Duke take the message, and by extension the messenger, much more seriously than Aubrey's.

Defoe's consideration of the detail of the token/particulars in both versions is emblematic of his argument concerning believability.

BESIDES the above-named clashing Circumstances in the differing Relation of this Story, there are one or two that are very material, as will appear by the following Remarks.

1. AUBREY says Mr. Towes, as he calls him, went to the Duke, and told him the Token; notwithstanding which, the Duke laugh'd at his Message: whereas my Lord Clarendon tells just the contrary, that the Duke gave him an open, tho' a very particular Audience; all his Attendants keeping at a distance, and that he held him in that earnest Discourse for an Hour.

2. AUBREY says, the Token Sir George gave to enforce or engage his Son's Attention, was, that he (the Duke) had a Mole in such a private Part of his Body; but my Lord says, the Token given was of such a Nature as the Duke swore none but the Devil and one Person in the World could know, and that he was sure that one Person would never speak of it; and that the Duke was extremely disturbed when he heard it.

(p.288)

Defoe's analysis of Clarendon's picture of the Duke is not of a rude man who has so little respect for his father's friend that he laughs at him (as Aubrey's is), but of a gentleman who took the time to meet with a stranger, based on a second-hand recommendation, whose message he considered with seriousness and concern. The token, then, is symbolic of the consequence of the message. A mole is a topical, and

therefore superficial, proof; one worth laughter, so the message is not taken seriously. The particulars that Claredon's narrator related are never specified in the body of the story; however, in an editorial aside following immediately after his two points, Defoe informs his readers that, "*FAME, tho' with some Privacy, says, that the secret Token was an incestuous Breach of Modesty between the Duke and a certain Lady too nearly related to him...and this astonished him, so that he was very far from receiving the Man slightly, or laughing at his Message*" (p.288). The aspect of self-absorption that incest represents would have been seen as destructive to the fibre of a social community for Defoe. The infamy of such a taboo was as bad as the act itself, therefore the Duke would have been extremely attentive and serious about the messenger and his message. By comparing the way both accounts were written, Defoe shows the reader how to judge by prose style and reasoning, as well as content, as to which is the closest to the truth. Defoe explains how a true story may become tainted by passing it from person to person, as a transition from comparing the two specific versions to applying his rule for testing the rhetoric of a visitation, thereby proving that this story is a true story.

What this Apparition then was, and from whom, or from whence, remains to be decided. That the Thing was real, is too well attested; it comes loaded with some many concurring

Circumstances, and told in the hearing of so many Witnesses of good Fame and Credit, that there is no Room to question the Fact; and as the various Ways of relating it, the Truth of the whole is not abated by it at all: only as is natural to things of this Nature which pass through so many Hands, every one expressing themselves their own way, tho' meaning the same thing; they often vary at last in the very Substance, by only varying at first in the Circumstances.

(p.289)

From a direct comparison of the two versions, Defoe then moves to explain how the truth of this appearance is proven by the rhetoric of the visitation.

THE Truth of the Matter is at last, that the Apparition foretold his Ruin, and it soon follow'd. Now that this Apparition could not be the *Devil*, is evident from the reasons laid down before in like Cases. How can we suppose the *Devil* would be offended with the wicked Life and abominable Practices of the Duke of *Buckingham* at Court? His incestuous Lewdness, and whatever other scandalous Practices he allowed himself in, the *Devil* might, perhaps, encourage and prompt him to, but the would never send a Messenger to warn him against them, and to alarm him with Apprehensions of Danger attending him if he did not reform. This is none of the *Devil's* Business, 'tis quite foreign to him, 'twould be the weakest thing in the World to suggest it of him.

(p.289)

As Defoe has said earlier in the text, the Devil would never work for the benefit of others. The Devil only goes about his own work, that is, evil. So the reader knows when, in Lord Clarendon's version, the Duke says, "none but the *Devil* and one Person in the World could come at that Knowledge [the secret token]" (p.287), that it was not the Devil who told the narrator because of the message from the apparition, which was, among other things, to save the Duke's life. Defoe has also told the reader previously, that the Devil does not have the gift of prophecy. The fact that the "Apparition foretold his Ruin," also proves that the apparition was not sent by the Devil.

If the apparition is not from the Devil, then it must be from God. However, if it was directly from God, the Duke would have been immediately reformed, because God would not waste time with an ineffectual messenger.

AGAIN, if it were anything immediately from Heaven, it would have been effectual to have awaken'd and reform'd him: But as it might be a kind Messenger from another Part of the invisible World, where his approaching Fate was known, and who having given him this Notice, left his Reformation in his own Power, and laid the Necessity of it before the Eyes of his Reason, as well as of his Conscience, and that after this his Fall was of himself; this makes it all rational, and easie to be understood, and is agreeable to the ordinary custom of Providence in like Cases, of which many Examples might be given in this World.

(p.289-90)

Since the messenger is not directly sent by God, but comes from another part of the "invisible world," its business, as an enactor of Providence, is to warn, not to bring about the change as would a messenger that had been directly charged by God. The individual must choose to follow Providence.

Once the nature and purpose of the visitation have been established, Defoe explains why the spirit chose to appear in the likeness of the Duke's father.

NOR is it strange, that the Apparition should personate the old deceased Father of the Duke, and assume his Shape, to add as it were a Solemnity to the Message, and give it a greater Influence upon the Mind of the Duke; and the same Messenger might have assumed another Shape or Person if it had thought fit, whether living or Dead.

BUT if the Shape assumed was the most likely to give Weight to the Errand it was to be sent about, we are not to wonder at all that a Spirit employ'd, or employing itself on an Errand of such Importance, such be able to single out such Appearances, or such Shapes or Persons to appear in the Figure of, as were a test to enforce the Message. The well-chusing the Person is to me a Testimony for, not against the Goodness, the Judgement and Capacity of the personating Spirit, and with just reasoning confirm to us the validity of the Message, and of the Messenger also.

(p.290)

The "judgement and capacity" of the personating spirit enables the choice of a figure in which to appear that will influence the visited most effectively. In the Duke's case,

a message to change his behavior is best delivered by someone who would be in a familially dominant position to him. And the very fact that the spirit goes to such lengths to have his message reinforced by his facade, proves further that the apparition must be on a good mission.

Defoe reminds his readers that the spirit is not the soul of the deceased Sir George Villers.

AND yet 'tis very reasonable to believe, that Sir *George Villers*, thus seeming to appear, and whose Surface or Outside is put on like a Masquerade Habit upon this Occasion, knew nothing of it, and had no manner of concern in it. Nothing is more wonderful in any part of the Story to me, than that Men of Sense and Learning, as some such have been could be prevailed upon, or rather could prevail upon themselves, to publish to the World such incongruous, such irrational things as these; that a Man dead, perhaps twenty Years before, I think it's so much at least; should appear, and say, he could not rest in Peace for such and such things.

(p.290)

For Defoe, the worst offense in Aubrey's version is the author's belief that the apparition was the soul of the dead Sir George Villers. The reader has been reminded of this point especially, because Aubrey violates all three of Defoe's rules at once. It is irrational because it goes against reason to believe that a soul could be disturbed from its rest. It is rhetorically unsound because what the ghost in the Aubrey version says is silly, has it really been

wandering about for twenty years, waiting to deliver its message? And it is sacrilege because it directly flouts Scripture.

The final rule Defoe uses to measure the truth of a visitation story stems from his sense of religious orthodoxy and Puritanism. Does a story uphold or violate scripture and/or belief? In his sixth chapter, Defoe recounts the story of the robber Hinds and then measures it against his maxim of piety.

Hinds, a famous late seventeenth century highwayman, had staked out a particular inn in Huntingtongshire. A spirit in the guise of a country shepherd takes lodging at this inn. Hinds finds out that the shepherd has two bags full of money. When the shepherd sets out the next day, Hinds attempts to rob him. When asked to give up his money, the shepherd claims that he has none. Hinds threatens to kill him if he doesn't hand the money over that he knows the shepherd has. The shepherd still insists that he has none. This business began to take too long to be out in the open, so Hinds forces the shepard into the woods. In the woods, Hinds removes the saddlebags and opens them to discover a hangman's noose in one and a piece of brass in the shape of a gibbet. The shepard calls to him from behind, "*There's your Fate, HIND, take care*" (p.76). Hinds empties the bags and finds no money except in the bag with the halter, which contains a "*Thirteen*

Pence Half-Penny" (p.76) coin. When Hinds turned around to kill the shepherd, he finds the man has disappeared.

Defoe explains defines what this spirit is by addressing first what it is not.

That this was a Spirit must be acknowledged. A good Angel from Heaven would hardly have been sent to give such an ineffectual insignificant Hint, which had no sufficient Effect, whatever it might have just then to surprize him, for he rob'd continually after that, and was at last hang'd for it.

The *Devil*, as before, cannot rationally be suspected in this Case; for why should the *Devil* both bauk him, threaten and caution him? threaten him with hanging him, fright him with the Gibbet and the Halter, and caution him to take care. This was not for the *Devil's* Purpose, it was more for his Interest to have him go on, though he came to the Gallows at last.

(p.77)

Defoe has argued in the previous chapters that an Angel sent directly from heaven delivers its message in such a manner that it is both understood and obeyed. Defoe, in earlier chapters, has cited the story of Sodom and the warnings of the angels to Lot. The angels came from heaven and were specific; they did not hint at or allude to what was to come. The halter, the gibbet, the coin, and the victim's occupation are symbolic of what could happen, and in fact will happen, should Hinds not heed the visitant's warning. The halter is a rope with a noose for hanging criminals. The gibbet is a

post with an arm by which to hang criminals. The coin, a thirteen pence half-penny, is what the convict pays the hangman before he is executed. And the guise of the apparition, being a shepherd, refers back to the image that God watches over us and protects us as in the Psalm 23 "The Lord is my Shepherd." These symbols, in combination with the warning that this was his fate, point to what will happen if he does not change his occupation. That the apparition only leaves tokens as hints, rather than making its message clear and that these hints were not a deterrent to Hinds's behavior indicates that this visitor was not sent straight from heaven. However, the specter was not the Devil either, for the simple fact that it would be contrary to not only his nature (to deliver a message for good), but also his purpose (which is to lead men into sin so that they will be in hell).

After eliminating both Devil and Angel, what is left?

IF then it was neither *good* Angel or *Bad*, what must it be, and how must we judge of it? what Name must we give it, and who was this Country Grazier?

TO come off of this, some will have it be, that it is the *Devil* under Constraint, the *Devil* in Commission, that he is sent on such Errands by a superior Power that has him at Command...This is begging the Question in the grossest manner imaginable. Besides, why the *Devil* sent of such Errands?

1. IT is *not probable*, it is not to be gather'd from the ordinary Course of Providence. The *Devil* indeed was permitted, or,...was commission'd to strip and afflict poor

Job...but this does not amount to a Parallel...he was only employ'd as an Instrument, and, as we may express it, in his ordinary Business ...doing Mischief: But here he is suppos'd employ'd in doing Good... Now this is quite out of *Satan's* Road of Business; 'tis also out of the ordinary course of Heaven's Conduct, for when do we find God Employing the *Devil* in any good Work? I do not remember one clear Example of it, in all the sacred History.

2. It would argue that Heaven should want Instruments, which is not at all just to infer; will they pretend, that, for want of more proper Agents, God should employ the *Devil* to save a High-way Man from the Gallows? and, which is more than all the rest, should not bring it to pass neither?

(p.77-78)

Defoe rules out the possibility that it was the Devil forced to deliver this message. Since the regular operations of Providence do not include employing the Devil, the exception being Job, Demonic involvement is not a plausible reason. The exception of Job has the Devil doing evil, which is natural for him. To believe that the Devil would not only be employed for good, but also to do so against his natural inclinations, makes no sense. God has never done so before, according to the scriptures, so why would He in this case? Furthermore, why would God first go to the lengths of employing the Devil, when He has good spirits enough, and then have the mission fail? Not only does this go against logic, it goes against religion and scripture.

If it is neither, Devil, nor Angel, nor Devil forced by God, then it must be another kind of spiritual intervention.

But if you will allow that this was one of the Imaginary^s species of Spirit, who, willing to save a poor Wretch that was running head-long to the Devil, took all these measures to alarm him, was not admitted to give him Notice, when he was about the fatal Act he was surpriz'd in, or to warn him when the Officers came to apprehend him, this seems rational.

(p.78)

That this spirit is a good one is attested to by the helpful intention of the act. If the spirit had warned Hinds when he was apprehended, then Hinds would merely have escaped. Hinds would not have read the action as a warning to change, but simply as a device to save his life. The spirit can not change the course of events; that would alter destiny and remove free will. The apparition is a function of providence. It sends warnings that the individual is veering off of the right path, but it can not correct or alter the choice. Once the message has been delivered, it is up to the recipient to choose the path towards God or continue on the path away from Him. When piety is applied to this story, it reveals that the visit was true and the visitor was good.

Defoe gives the reader three ways to judge the truth of the apparition: rationality, sound rhetoric, and religion. If the account fails to meet any of the criteria, then it is bogus: being either a delusion, fantasy, or fiction.

Apparitions, the providers of providential guidance are particularly serious for Defoe. He wants his readers to approach any spiritual visitors that they might receive with reason, comprehension, and piety. The stories and analysis Defoe provides in The History of Apparitions, not only teach the reader how to distinguish the a true story from a false one, but also how to handle a visitation should one occur to them. Defoe believes that his history provides rational and doctrinally sound proof of their reality.

End Notes

1) For an extended discussion of Glanvill's lunatic, self-serving theology, see Ferris Greenslet Joseph Glanvill: A Study in English Thought and Letters of the Seventeenth Century.

2) For what ever reason, Defoe seems to have mistaken his biblical chronology. When addressing the rhetoric of the apparition, he singles out the phrase "To bring me up" for particular emphasis.

2. *T O bring me up?* intimating that *Samuel* was below, or was called *ab Inferis*; which is contrary to Reason as well as Religion, and neither consists either with our Notion, or any body else, except it be Soul-sleepers, who tell us, the Soul sleeps with the Body in the Grave 'till the Resurrection; and if so, then must the old Woman have had Power to awake him whenever she pleas'd.

(p.47)

Defoe has said in several places that Samuel's soul is in heaven (i.e. "and send *Samuel*...from Heaven" p. 46). What Defoe has overlooked in this discussion is that the Witch of Endor story is an Old Testament story, so it is before Christ has been born. Since Samuel is dead, his soul would have been, at the time of the actions in the story, in sheol, or hades, which is the underworld. The Hebrews believed it to be a subterranean dwelling place for the souls of the dead from which there was no return. Christ had not yet been born

on Earth, much less had he harrowed hell and released the holy souls from sheol to dwell in heaven. The Articles of Creed, 1642, says that, "Christs soule did descend ad Inferos, or go to Sheol or Hades" (Oxford English Dictionary, p.241). Therefore, according to ancient Hebrew beliefs, Samuel would have been underground because he was dead. Defoe is misapplying his Christian time frame because the Witch of Endor story occurs hundreds of years before Christ could have released Samuel from sheol to live eternally in heaven. Defoe is thinking in terms of contemporary, post-salvation Christianity. In simple terms, Samuel was not in heaven during the historical events of the story, but he was by the time Defoe was reasoning out the events and rhetoric of the story.

3) For a detailed list and categorization of the stories, please see the Index of Materials and Stories Covered.

4) The OED defines "hyppo" as, "[abbreviation of hypochondria] morbid depression of spirits" (p.569).

5) Defoe's use of the word "imaginary" seems out of place in his argument about the reality of spiritual visitations. I believe that he is using this word sarcastically because that would be the only way this word would make sense in the middle of his discussion. He is speaking to those who would call apparitions imaginary (i.e. Hobbes), but he believes that they are real.

NOTE ON FORMAT OF THE TEXT

The following is not an exact reproduction. However, there has been no attempt to amend spelling, grammar, and any other of Defoe's mistakes. The printer's errors have been amended (for a list of printer's errors, please see Appendix B, the bibliographic description). There were no irregular hyphens, so there is no need of a hyphenation table. Illustrations can be found in Appendix C.

A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
History and Reality
O F
A P P A R I T I O N S.
B E I N G

An Account of what they are, and what
they are not; whence they come,
and whence they come not.

A S A L S O

*How we may distinguish between the Ap-
paritions of Good and Evil Spirits, and
how we ought to Behave to them.*

W I T H

A great Variety of Surprizing and Diverting
Examples never Publish'd before.

*By Death transported to th'Eternal Shore,
Souls so remov'd revisit us no more:
Engross'd with Joys of a Superior Kind,
They leave the trifling Thoughts of Life
behind.¹*

L O N D O N, Printed: And Sold by J. R O B E R T S
in Warwick-Lane. M D C C X X V I I.

[sig.¶1^a]

T H E

P R E F A C E.

A V E R Y short Preface may suffice to a Work of this Nature. Spectre and Apparition make a great Noise in the World; and have (at least formerly) had a great Influence among us.

Between our Ancestors laying too much stress upon them, and the present Age endeavoring wholly to explode and despise them, the World seems hardly ever to have come at a right Understanding about them.

Some despise them in such an extraordinary manner, that they pretend to wish for nothing more than to be convinc'd by Demonstration; as if nothing but seeing [sig.¶2^a] the Devil could satisfie them there was such a Person; and nothing is more wonderful to me, in the whole System of Spirits, than that Satan does not think it fit to justify the Reality of his Being, by appearing to such in some of his worst Figures, and tell them in full Grimace who he is, when I doubt not but they would be as full of the Pannick as other People.

Again, some People are so horribly frightened at the very mention of an Apparition, that they cannot go two Steps in the dark, or in the dusk of the Evening, without looking behind them; and if they see but a Bat fly, they

think of the Devil, because of its Wings; and as for a Screech Owl, at its first appearance, they make no scruple of running into the House in a Fright, and affirming that they have seen the Devil.

How to bring the World to a right Temper between these Extremes is a Difficulty we cannot answer for; but if setting things in a true light, between Imagination and solid Foundation, will assist towards it, we hope this Work may have some Success. [sig.¶2^b]

Not that I expect to fortify my Readers, and establish their Minds against the Fears of what they may see, so that they shall make an Apparition of the Devil familiar to them; there is such a kind of Aversion in the Minds of Men to the Angel of Light, that nobody cares to see him in Imagination, much less to be forc'd to see him whether they will or no.

But now on the other hand, if it true that the Devil very rarely does appear, that almost all Apparitions are of friendly and assisting Angels, and come of a kind and beneficent Errand to us, and that therefore we need not be so terrified at them as we are; if it be true that when any evil Spirit does appear, it is limited by a Superior Power, and can do us no harm without special Li-

cence; methinks this should take off the Terror from our Minds, and cause us to arm our Souls with Resolution enough to meet the Devil, whatever Shape he thinks fit to

appear in: For I must tell you, Good People, [sig.al^a] as was said in another Case, he that is not able to see the Devil in whatever Shape he is pleas'd to appear in, is not really qualified to live in this World, no not in the quality of a common Inhabitant.

But the Mistake lies chiefly here, that we either will allow no Apparition at all, or will have every Apparition to be the Devil; as if none of the Inhabitants of the World above, were able to show themselves here, or had any Business among us, but the Devil, who I am of the Opinion has really less Business here than any of them all; nay, we have some reason to believe he has no Business here at all, but that of a roaring Lyon, &c. and therefore if you meet him, and had Courage for it, the properest Question you could ask him would be, not, In the Name of G O D, what art thou? but, In the Name of G O D, what Business hast thou here? Bid him be gone to his Den, and tell him you will pray to God to chain him up else: I dare say he would turn Tayl at such an Attack seriously made; and it would be the best way in the World to get rid of him. [sig.al^b]

That we may then be perfectly easy about this undetermin'd thing call'd Apparition, I have endeavour'd here to bring the thing into a narrow Compass, and to see it in a true light. I have first given you several Specimens of real Apparitions well attested, and the

truth of them so affirm'd, that they may be depended upon: If in any of them I am not so well assur'd of the Fact, tho' they may be as certain, yet I have frankly told you so, and adher'd to the Moral only: But all together may convince the Reader of the Reason and Reality of the thing it self.

On the other hand, I have given you Specimens of those Amusements and Delusions which have been put upon the World for Apparitions; and you may see the difference is so Notorious, (whether the Cheat be Political or Whimsical, Magical or Imaginary,) that no Man can be easily deceiv'd, that will but make use of the Eyes of his Understanding, as well as those in his Head.

If, after all, you will give up your Reason to your Fancy, which at best is but [sig.a2^a] a Distemper, and that you will call every Shadow an Apparition, and every Apparition a Devil, you must be content to be the Subject of constant Delusion; for he that will imagine that he sees the Devil always about him, whether Satan is really with him or no, shall never want walking Shadows to amuse him, 'till he really calls up the Devil he fears, and bespeaks the Mischief he was before in Danger of.
[sig.a2^b with illustration]

T H E
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[sig.a3^a]

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Chap. XII. *Of Apparitions being said to happen just at the time when the Person so happening to appear is said to be departing; the Fiction of it confuted.* p. 474

[sig.a3^b]

Chap. XIII. *Of the Consequence of this Doctrine; and seeing that Apparitions are real, and may be expected upon many Occasions, and that we are sure they are not the Souls of our departed Friends; how are we to act, and how to behave to them, when they come among us, and when they pretend to be such and such, and speak in the first Person of those departed Friends, as if they were really themselves?* p. 540

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[sig.a4^a with illustration]

T H E
History *and* Reality
O F
A P P A R I T I O N S.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

*Of Apparitions in General: the Certainty
and Nature of them.*

O F all of the *Arcana* of the invisible World, I know no One Thing about which more has been said, and less understood, than this of Apparition: It is divided so much between the Appearance of good and the Apparition of bad Spirits, that our Thoughts are strangely confus'd about it.

F I R S T, We make a great deal of Difficulty to resolve whether there are any such things as Apparitions or no; and some People are for reducing them all into Fancy, Whimsie, and the Vapours; and so shutting the Door against Apparitions in ge- [sig.B1^a] neral, they resolve to receive no Visits from the invisible World, nor to have any Acquaintance with its Inhabitants 'till they come there; Not satisfy'd with that, they resolve for us all, as well as for themselves, and will have it, that because they have no Notion of it themselves, therefore there is really no such thing, and this they have

advanc'd with great Assurance, as well in Print as in other Discourses. I name no body.

I H A V E, I believe, as a true Notion of the Power of Imagination as I ought to have, and you shall hear farther from me upon that Head; I believe we form as many Apparitions in our Fancies, as we see really with our Eyes, and a great many more; nay, our Imaginations are sometimes very diligent to embark the Eyes (and the Ears too) in the Delusion, and persuade us to believe we see Spectres and Appearances, and hear Noises and Voices, when indeed, neither the *Devil* or any other Spirit, good or bad, has trouble themselves about us.

B U T it does not follow from thence that therefore there are no such Things in Nature; that there is no Intercourse or Communication between the World of Spirits, and the World we live in; that the Inhabitants of the invisible Spaces, *be those where you please*, have no Converse with us, and that they never take the Liberty to stop down upon this Globe, or to visit their Friends here; and in short, that they have nothing to do with us or say to us, or we with or to them. The Enquiry is not, as I take it, whether they really do come hither or no, but who they are that do come?

S P I R I T is certainly something that we do not fully understand, in our present confined Circumstances; and as we do not fully understand the thing, so neither can we

distinguish of its Operations. As we of present conceive of it, 'tis an unrestrain'd, unlimited Being; except by such Laws of the invi- [sig.B1^b] sible State, which at present we know little of; its way of conversing we know nothing of, other than this, that we believe, and indeed see Reason for it, that it can act in an invisible and imperceptible manner; it moves without being prescrib'd or limited by Space, it can come and not be seen, go and not be perceiv'd; 'tis not to be shut in by Doors, or shut out by Bolts and Bars; in a Word, it is unconfined by all those Methods which we confine our Actions by, or by which we understand ourselves to be limited and prescrib'd.

Y E T notwithstanding all this, it converses here, is with us, and among us; corresponds, tho' unembodied, with our Spirits which are embodied; and this conversing is by not only an invisible, but to us an inconceivable way; it is neither tied down to Speech or to Vision, but moving in a superior Orb, conveys its Meaning to our Understandings, its Measures to our Conceptions; deals with the Imagination, and works it up to receive such Impressions as serve for its purpose; and yet at the same time we are perfectly passive, and have no Agency in, or Knowledge of the Matter.

B Y this silent Converse, all the kind Notices of approaching Evil or Good as convey'd to us, which are

sometimes so evident, and come with such an irresistible Force upon the Mind, that we must be more than stupid if we do not perceive them; and if we are not extremely wanting to our selves, we may take such due Warning by them, as to avoid the Evils which we had Notice of in that manner, and to embrace the Good that is offer'd to us: Nor are there many People alive who can deny but they have had such Notices, by which, if they had given due Attention to them, they had been assisted to save themselves from the Mischiefs which followed; or had, on the other hand, taken hold of such and such [sig.B2^d] Advantages as had been offer'd for their Good: for it is certainly one of the grand and most important Difficulties of human Life, to know whether such or such things, which present in our ordinary or extraordinary Circumstances, are for our good, as they seem to be, and as may be pretended, or not, and whether it is proper for us to accept them or no; and many unhappily stand in the Way of their own Prosperity, for want of knowing what to accept of, and what to refuse.

N O W by what Agency must it be that we have Directions, for good or foreboding Thoughts of Mischiefs which attend us, and which it is otherwise impossible we should know any thing of; if some intelligent Being, who can see into Futurity, had not convey'd the Apprehensions

into the Mind, and had not caused the Emotion which alarms the Soul?

A N D how should that intelligent Being (whatever it is) convey these Forebodings and sudden Misgivings, as we rightly call them, into the Mind, if there was not a certain Correspondence between them, a way of talking perfectly unintelligible to us, uncommon, and without the Help of Sounds or any other perceptible Way?

*For Spirits without the Helps of Voice converse.*¹

A S thus there is a Converse of Spirits, an Intelligence, or call it what you please, between our Spirits embodied and cased up in Flesh, and the Spirits unembodied; who inhabit the unknown Mazes of the invisible World, those Coasts which our Geography cannot describe; who, between *Somewhere* and *No-where* dwell, none of us know *where*, and yet we are sure must have Locality, and for ought we know, are very near us; why should it be thought so strange a thing, that those Spirits [sig.B2^b] should be able to take upon them an Out-side or Case? why should they not be able, on Occasion, or when they think fit, to dress themselves up as we do a *la Masquerade*, in a Habit disguis'd like Flesh and Blood, to deceive human Sight, so as to make themselves visible to

us? As they are free Spirits, why may they not be like what my Lord *Rochester* expresses in another Case,

A Spirit free to chuse for their own Share

What Case of Flesh and Blood they please to wear?

*Roch. Sat. against Man.*²

I do not by this affirm that this is so, and that a Spirit may assume a real Case of Flesh and Blood; for I resolve to affirm nothing that will not bear a Proof, and to suggest nothing without Probability, in all this Work.

B U T it is enough to the present purpose if these invisible Inhabitants can assume an Appearance, a Form sufficient to make them perceptible to us; at the same time not being at all vested with any Substance, much less of the Species which they represent.

I F they can assume a visible Form, as I see no Reason to say they cannot, there is no room then to doubt of their Reality of their appearing; because what *may be* we cannot but believe sometimes *has been*, as what *has been*, we are sure *may be*.

T O say that the unembodied Spirits can have nothing to do with us, and that we have Reason to believe they are not at all acquainted with human Affairs, is to say what no Man can be assured of, and therefore is begging the Question in the grossest manner.

I S H A L L therefore spend but very little time to prove or to argue for the Reality of Apparition. Let Mr. *Glanville*³ and his Antagonists, the *Hobbists* [sig.B3^a] and *Sadduces*⁴ of those Times, be your Disputants upon that Subject; nor shall I trouble you with much Antiquity or History: a little that is most unexceptional may be necessary. If there is an invisible World, and if Spirits residing or inhabiting are allowed to be there, or placed there by the supreme governing Power of the Universe; it will be hard to prove, that 'tis impossible they should come hither, or that they should have Liberty to show themselves here, and converse in this Globe, as well as in all the other Globes or Worlds, which, for ought we know, are to be found in that immense Space; Reason does not exclude them, Nature yields to the Possibility, and Experience with a Cloud of Witnesses in all Ages confirm the Reality of the affirmative.

T H E Question therefore before me is not so much whether there are such things as Apparitions of Spirits; but W H O, and W H A T, and from W H E N C E they are; what Business they come about, who sends or directs them, and how and in what manner we ought to think and act, and behave about them and to them; this is the Substance of this Undertaking.

T H E Angels are said to be *ministring Spirits*, and we know they have made use of (as such) on many Occasions,

by the superior Appointment of him that created them; why then it may not be thought fit by the same Power, to make or substitute a Ministration of these unembodied Spirits to the Service of the embodied Souls of Men, which are also God's Creatures, we cannot tell.

U P O N what foot, and to what end, either on their Side or on ours, and from what Appointment, is very difficult to ascertain; and yet some probable Guesses might be made at it too, if it was the proper Work before me; but I am rather adjusting the Fact, and ascertaining the Reality of Apparitions in [sig.B3^b] general, than inquiring into the Reasons of them; either the Reasons in Nature, or in Providence, which are perhaps farther out of our Reach than some People imagine.

I T is as difficult to determine whether the Spirits that appear are good or evil, or both; the only Conclusion upon the Point is to be made from the Errand they come about; and it is a very just Conclusion, I think; for if a Spirit or Apparition comes to or haunts us only to terrify and affright, to fill the Mind with Horror, and the House with Disorder, we cannot reasonably suppose that to be a good Spirit; and on the other hand, if it comes to direct to any Good, or to forewarn and preserve from any approaching Evil, it cannot then be reasonable to suppose 'tis an evil Spirit.

T H E Story of an Apparition disturbing a young Gentleman, at or near *Cambridge*, is remarkable to this Purpose: He set up, it seems, for a kind of profess'd Atheism; but hearing a Voice, supposed it was the *Devil* spoke to him, yet owned that the Voice assured him *there was a God*, and *bid him repent*⁵. It was a most incongruous Suggestion that the *Devil* should come Voluntier to an Atheist, and bid him repent; or, that the *Devil* should with a like Freedom assert the Being of a G O D.

I F then it was a real Apparition of, or a Voice from an invisible Spirit; (I say *if*, because it might be a Phantom of his own Imagination) it must be from a good Spirit, or from an evil Spirit over-rul'd by a superior and beneficent Power; and if that were to be supposed, then it would justify our taking farther Notice of those things called Voices and Apparitions, than I shall venture to advise.

T H E Possibility however of Apparitions, and the Certainty of a World of Spirits, as I can by no means doubt, so I shall take up none of your time to answer the Objections and Cavils of other [sig.B4^a] People about it; because I think the Evidence will amount to a Demonstration of the Facts, and Demonstration puts an end to Argument.

C H A P. I.

Of Apparitions in particular, the Reality of them, their Antiquity, and the Difference between Apparitions of former Times, and those which we may call Modern; with something of the Reason and Occasion of that Difference.

N O T H I N G can be stronger Testimony of the Reality of Apparitions in General, than to descend to the particular Appearances which we are assur'd have been seen and convers'd with from the superior World. And first I begin with such as have been evidently from Heaven it self, and by the sovereign Appointment of Providence upon extraordinary Occasions. And tho' I shall trouble my Readers with as little as possible out of Scripture, especially at the Beginning of my Work, because I am unwilling they should throw it by, before they read it out, which there would be some Danger of, if I should begin too grave!

Y E T, as I cannot go back to Originals, or begin at the Beginning, without a little History out of those ancient Times, you must bear with my just naming the Sacred Historians. I'll be as short as I can.

N O T H I N G is more certain, if the Scripture is at all to be believed among us, than that G O D himself was

pleased, in the Infancy of Things, to appear Visibly, and in Form, to several Persons, and [sig.B4^b] on several Occasions, upon Earth; assuming or taking up the Shape of his Creature Man, when he thought fit to converse with him, that he might not be a Terror to him.

T H U S *Adam* was frequently visited in *Eden*, and we have no room to doubt it was a visible Form, because *Adam* both heard him speak, and as the Text says, *They heard the Voice of the Lord God walking in the Garden in the Cool of the Day.* Gen. iii. 8.

B Y all the History of the Antediluvian World, we have reason to believe, that as God did frequently speak to Men, so he as frequently appear'd to them; for we find they conversed with God Face to Face. *Cain*, tho' wicked, talk'd with G O D, and G O D with him, when he was charg'd with the Murther of his Brother *Abel*; and the Text is express, *Gen. iv. 16.* that after it, *Cain went out from the Presence of the Lord.* So that God not only spoke to him by a voice, but was Visible and Present to him.

A N D as I must carry the *Devil* along with me, hand in hand, in every Period of Time, so even in *Paradise* the *Devil* assum'd a Shape. For we must allow Satan to be a Spirit, and indeed, we have good reason to say he is a *Spirit*, free to C H U S E what *Case of Flesh and Blood* he pleases to put on, or at least seemingly to put on.

T H U S he without doubt spoke in the Mouth of the Serpent in the Garden, or else took upon himself that Shape, tho' the former is the most probable; because the Serpent was curst for being but the Instrument, however passive he might be.

M R. M I L T O N makes no doubt of the Devil's assuming a Shape of any kind, *Beast* as well as *Man*, when he brings him in whispering to *Eve* in her Sleep, and placing himself close to her Ear, in the Shape of a Toad, which he expresses in his Sub- [sig.B5³] lime Poem, and with that inimitable Manner, peculiar to himself.

F I R S T he brings Satan leaping over the Mound or Fence, which God had placed round the Garden, as a Wolf leaps over the Hurdles into a Sheep-fold; and being gotten into Paradise, he places himself upon the Tree of Life, in the Shape of a *Raven* or *Cormorant*. There's the Devil's first Apparition.

T H E N C E he views the whole Garden, and all the Creatures in it, and at last he spies *Adam* and *Eve*, to his great Surprise. But after a while spent admiring their Form, their Beauty, Felicity and Innocence, as he resolv'd to ruin them, so he comes down from the Tree to be nearer them; and mixing among the Cattle, where he takes upon him now one Shape, then another, as it best suited him, to be near *Adam* and *Eve*, and yet to be unperceived by them; this the Poet describes thus;

*Then from his lofty Stand on that high Tree,
 Down he alights among the sportful Herd
 Of those four-footed Kinds; himself now one,
 Now other, as their Shape best serv'd his End
 Nearer to view his Prey, and espy'd
 To mark what of their State he more might learn.
 -----About them round,
 A Lion now he stalks with fiery Glare;
 Then as a Tiger,-----*

Milt. Parad. lib. IV. ver. 395.

Again, when he makes the Angels find Satan, as I have
 observed, whispering evil Thoughts to Eve in a Dream, and
 in her Sleep, he says, [sig.B5^b]

*_____Him there they found,
 Squat like a Toad, close at the Ear of Eve;
 Assaying, by his devilish Art, to reach
 The Organs of her Fancy, and with them forge
 Illusions, as he list, Phantasms, and Dreams.*

lb. ver.799.¹

'T I S evident then, that the Devil can assume a Shape,
 whether of Man or Beast, and appear as such, in order to
 disguise himself from our Sight. We shall have a farther

Account of him presently, but in the mean time let us see higher, and go into the After-Ages.

A B R A H A M is the first Example, after *Noah*, of an open Converse with his Maker; and the Scripture distinguishes the very manner; sometimes 'tis said, that the Lord *had said to Abram*, Gen. xii. 1. and again, the Lord *said to Abram*, Gen. xiii. 1₄. again *The Word of the Lord came to Abram*, and *the Word of the Lord came to Abram in a Vision*. Gen. xv. 1. 4, to the 7th².

B U T there are other express Places in which it is said in plain Words, God appeared to him. Gen. xii. 7. *The Lord appear'd unto Abram*: and Gen. xvii. 1. *The Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him*: and ver. 22. *And he left off talking with him, and God went up from Abraham*. 'Tis undeniable that God appeared, and was with him, and left off talking with him, and went from him: all Marks of a visible Apparition.

A G A I N, Chap. xviii. here it is still more explicit, and God not only appeared, but appeared in a Human Shape. Ver. 1. *And the Lord appeared to him in the Plains of Mamre, as he sat in the Door of his Tent*. First 'tis said, he lift up his Eyes and looked, and behold, three Men stood by him. So visible were they, that he entertains them, [sig.B6^d] invites them to Dinner, and prepares a fat Calf to be dress'd, and Cakes, and Butter, and Milk. In short, he made a Feast; so much was he, as

it may be said, deluded; so real was the Apparition; nay, when he sat it all before them, 'tis said they D I D E A T.

N O W, ver. 1₃. 'tis said expressly one of these was the L O R D; nay, in the Original it is J E H O V A H; that was when he charg'd *Sarah* with laughing and she deny'd it.

N.B. *Sarah* was the first of Human Kind, that ever told G O D a L Y E to his Face. But she was frighted, that's certain; the Text says so.

I N the 1₇th Verse, when God tells *Abraham* what he had resolv'd to do to *Sodom*; 'tis plain, he speaks in the first Person as God; *And the Lord said, shall I hide from Abraham the thing that I do?* Hereupon *Abraham* takes upon him to plead with God in behalf of *Sodom*; and in this speaks as to God himself, ver. 30. *O let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak:* and before that, ver. 27. *Behold now I have taken upon me to speak unto the L O R D, which am but Dust and Ashes.*

T H U S I think 'tis evident, that God himself did appear in Humane Shape to *Abraham*, and that more than once. The next Chapter is as plain, that he did the same to L O T; or if it should be objected that it is not so clear that it was God himself, it was two Angels; tho' Interpreters do generally agree, that it was Christ

himself, who is called an Angel, the Angel of the Covenant. But if that were doubtful, then it would still be allow'd that it was an Apparition of Angels in Human Shape, which will stand good in my next Article.

B U T as I am upon the Highest and Supreme Instances first, I must finish it by two particular [sig.B6^b] Quotations, which cannot be disputed. (1.) One is of *Jacob*, Gen. xxxii. 2₄. *There wrestled a man with him:* and ver. 28. *the Man is said to be G O D himself, as a Prince hast thou Power with G O D, and hast prevail'd:* and ver. 30. *after he had blessed him, Jacob call'd the Place Penial, that is the Face of G O D. For, says he, I have seen G O D Face to Face. Again Jacob says, Gen. xlviii. 3. God Almighty appeared to me at Luz in the Land of Canaan, and blessed me.*

(2.) B U T there is yet a stronger Testimony than all this, for it is spoken from the Mouth of G O D himself upon a very particular Occasion, which was to honor *Moses*, and establish him in the Reverence and Regard of the People, when the Seventy Men or Elders were appointed to take Part of his Work off his Hands, and judge of smaller Matters among the People; which is nobly express'd, Numb. xi. 1₇. *They shall bear the Burthen of the People with thee.* In the next Chapter *Miriam*, and even *Aaron* himself, spake against *Moses*; that is in short rose Rebellion; and God, to honour his Servant, tells

them how he had, and would distinguish *Moses* from all the rest. ver. 8. *With him will I speak Mouth to Mouth*, even *A P P A R E N T L Y*, and not in *Dark Speeches*, and the *Similitude of the L O R D* shall he *B E H O L D*.

H E R E is a positive Declaration from Heaven, that *G O D* would appear visibly to *Moses*; the like Instance is not to be seen in the whole Bible. The Word *Apparently* is plain, it can be no otherwise understood, without gross Equivocating with the Text.

C O M E we next to the Times of our Blessed Saviour, and there we have two eminent Appearances within the Compass of our present Argument. [sig.B7^d]

1. *T H E* HOLY GHOST appearing in the Shape of a *Dove*^j.

2. *T H E* Appearance of *JESUS CHRIST* after his Resurrection, when in the glorify'd Body wherewith he ascended; and that this was an Apparition, is plain, from the several Circumstances of his Appearance.

F I R S T, When he join'd the two Disciples going to *Emaus*: that he appear'd as a Man, the Text is plain from his walking with them, and Discourse to them; and that it was but an Apparition is also plain. Luke xxiv. 16. *Their Eyes were holden that they should not know him*: and ver. 31. when their Eyes were opened to know him he vanished out of their Sight.

S E C O N D L Y, When he appear'd to *Mary Magdalen* at the Sepulchre, but forbad her to touch him, *John* xx. 17.

And again ver. 19. when he came in to the Room were the Disciples were assembled, and when the Doors were shut, and said, *Peace be unto you*. Thus it is evident Christ has appear'd, and has told us he shall appear again, coming in the Clouds of Heaven; and we look for that blessed Hope, and glorious Appearing.

T H U S then you have GOD himself, *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*, appearing in distinct Times, in several Shapes or Forms of Appearance, all giving Testimony in general to the Reality of this Truth, That Spirits can assume Humane or other Shapes, and be made visible to Mankind; and this is what we call Apparition.

H A V I N G thus brought an Instance of the most exalted Kind, even the Appearance or Apparition of God himself, 'tis needful to state a little the Difference between those Appearances, and that which we are now to discourse of.

'T I S an Objection natural to the Case in hand, We do not question, much less enquire, whether [sig.B7^b] infinite Power, to whom all things are not possibly only, but easy, can assume a Humane Shape, or any other; and appear, *when, where, how*, and in *what Form* he thinks fit; and that he has, or may have so appeared. But there is a manifest Difference between what God is able, or may please to do upon extraordinary Occasions, and what any of his Creatures may or can do.

B E S I D E S 'tis evident, or at least we have reason to believe, that God himself did appear in those Times upon those extraordinary Occasions only, and that he has never appear'd since; except that should be call'd an Appearance or Apparition which spoke to St. *Paul* at his Conversion, when it is expressly said, he saw a Light, and heard a Voice, but saw no Man; tho' afterwards he calls it seeing him, 1 *Cor.* xv.8. *Last of all he was seen of me also.* Whereas St. *Paul*, we all know, did speak there of seeing Christ in the Flesh, while he was on Earth. But I say, except this, we have no Example of any Appearance of the Divine Majesty in Humane Shape, or in any other manner whatsoever.

T H A T therefore we must distinguish this from the Subject we are now entering upon, for that the Appearances of God are extremely different from the Apparitions of Creatures, whether Angels, Devils, or Souls of Men. That the Question is not, Whether God can do this or that; but, Whether the Spirits, Spirits Inferior, can do it: and, which is yet more to our Purpose, Suppose it has been so formerly, and in ancient times, whether they do continue to do so still, or have power to do it, let the Occasion be what it will.

T H U S the Enquiry is reduc'd to a narrower Compass. I take upon me the Affirmative; and we are now to look back into Time for the Confirmation or Proof of it, and

by enquiring what has been, inform our selves of what may be, is, or is to be expected, as occasion may require.
[sig.B8^d]

A N D first to describe the Thing, and explain what is generally understood by the Apparition of Spirits; that I may not hold you in Suspense, or Criticise upon the bare Words *Spirit* and *Apparition*, I come plainly to the Meaning, as I am to be understood in this Work: By *Apparition* of Spirits, then, I mean, when the Invisible Inhabitants of the unknown World, be they who they will, assume Humane Shapes, or other Shapes, and show themselves visibly to us, so as that we can see them, speak to them, hear them speak, and the like.

T H I S our People vulgarly call *Walking*; and when any such thing appears, they know not what otherwise to call it, they say *Something walks*; and if it be the Appearance of any known Person lately dead, they say *Such a one Walks*.

T H U S I lay every thing down with the utmost plainness, that I may leave the Reader in no Uncertainty about my Meaning in the Subject I am upon, or give room for Cavilings or Disputings, at either the Thing it self, or the manner of Expressing it.

*We speak in Vain
Of Truth it self, unless we speak it Plain.*

*Words wrapt in Clouds, till their full Meaning's known,
Such Words are not the Hearer's, but our own.
The End of Speaking's lost -----
For Speech was given to be understood.⁴*

A S K I N G Pardon for giving this Loose to my
Thoughts, I return to the Subject, lest I should be but
an Apparition my self.

T H E Apparitions I am to speak of are these.

1. T H E Appearance of Angels.
2. O F Devils.
3. O F the departed Souls of Men. [sig.B8^b]

T H E S E are those, who we mean by the Inhabitants of
the Invisible World, or Worlds; the World of Spirits, and
the Superior Beings, who are said to converse with the
Spirits embodied, by Vision or Apparition, or any other
Superior Way.

B Y Apparition also I am to understand such
Appearances of these superior Beings as are Spontaneous
and Voluntary, or at least so far as it relates to us;
that is to say, I distinguish between those Apparitions
which appear of their own accord, or by superior Mission
and Authority; and those which that dark Race of People
among us, who would be call'd Magicians, talk of;
Spirits, or things call'd Spirits, which are raised, as
we foolishly call it, by the Arts of Men; by Witchcraft,

Sorcery, Magick, and such other Infernal Arts, as are, or have been made use of for that Purpose; and by which they tell us Spirits are call'd down from the superior Regions (or where-ever their Abode has been) to show themselves visibly, speak to, and converse with Mankind, answer Questions, foretel Events, and the like; as *Samuel* is said to be brought to appear to *Saul*, 1 *Sam.xxviii.* 14. How far these Magicians, Witches, and other Dealers in these dark Things, have or have not Power to cause such Appearances, and to form Apparitions; and how far they impose upon, and delude the World in it, That I may speak of it by it self, and indeed it well deserves Consideration. But for the present, I say, I am talikng of another Kind of Apparitions.

[sig.C1^d with illustration]

C H A P. II.

Of the Appearance of Angels immediately in Mission as from Heaven; and why we are to suppose those kinds of Apparitions are at an End.

T H A T Angels have appeared to Men, we have abundant Testimony in the Histories of Time Past, as well Sacred as Prophane; nor shall I spend one Moment of your Time to examine, or confirm it, except as it comes necessarily in by the occasion of other Discourse: For it is not the Appearance of Angels as such, but the Appearance of Angels in the Shape of Men, that is the present Enquiry.

T H A T this has been, is evident, and in general the Scripture gives this Testimony to it: when the Apostle advises to Hospitality, and to entertain Strangers, he adds, *For thereby some have entertain'd Angels unawares.* Heb. xiii. 2. This must be meant of Angels in Humane Shape, otherwise the hospitable Person could not be mistaken in such a manner: Besides, it plainly refers to *Abraham, Gen. xviii. 1.* sitting in the Door of his Tent, ver. 2. three Men stood by him; two of these were certainly Angels; who the third was, I have shewn already. It may likewise include *Lot*, in whose Story, *Gen. xix.* it is express'd, ver. 1. that they were two

Angels, and ver. 8. *Lot* calls them *these Men*, and ver. 10, 12, 1₆. they are called *the Men*; so that *L O T* believ'd them to be Men only, and as such he not only invited them unto his House, ver. 2. but he made them a Feast, and that they did eat, ver. 3. [sig.C1^b]

T H E S E Apparitions of Angels, in the Shape of Men, are undeniable on other Occasions; but when they appear as Angels, it is said so plainly, and in so many Words; as in the Case of *Abraham*, when he was going to offer his Son *Isaac*, Gen. xxii. 11. *The Angels of the Lord called to Abraham out of Heaven*; and again ver. 1₅. *The Angels of the Lord called the second time*.

T H E R E are innumerable Examples of Angels appearing as Angels; but we are upon the Appearance of Angels as Men, and in the Shape and Habit of Men. The next Instance is, of an Angel appearing to *Joshua*, and who is called the Captain of the Lord's Host, Josh. v. 1₃. *Joshua looked, and beheld there stood a Man over-against him, with a Sword drawn in his Hand*. Immediately *Joshua*, Soldier-like, gives him the *qui vise*¹, or in *English*, *who are you for?* art thou for us, or for our Adversaries? and the Spectre or Apparitions spoke immediately again, ver. 1₄. and then *Joshua* perceived that it was not a Man, but an Angel in Apparition; and in the Heads or Contents of the Chapter, 'tis expressly said, *an Angel appears to Joshua*.

A N O T H E R Example is, of the Angel that appear'd to *Manoah* the Father of *Sampson*; his Wife indeed calls him a Man of God, and that he appear'd to her; but says, that his Countenance was like an Angel of God, very terrible; *Judges* xiii. 6. But still when he appear'd a second time, it was in the Shape of a Man, or else why did *Manoah* desire him to stay 'till he could dress a Kid for him? and the Words are express, ver. 16. *He knew not that it was a Angel of Lord.*

T H E R E are other Examples in Scripture, where the Angels have appeared in Humane Shape, and convers'd with Men upon Earth, besides such as have appear'd in their real Angelick Form as Angels. How and in what they were known to be [sig.C2^d] Angels, in what Form they have been seen, and in what Voice they spoke, is not discover'd to us in the Scripture. Some are of Opinion, that even those Angels appear'd in the Shape of Men, and cloathed as Men; as the Angel that met *Balaam* with a flaming Sword in his Hand; the Angels which *Jacob* saw ascending and descending on the Ladder; the Angels that spoke to *Zacharias* in the Temple, to the *Virgin Mary* in the Chamber, and that sat in the Sepulchre after Christ was risen and asked the Disciples, *why seek ye the Living among the Dead?* and so in several Cases: All that can be answer'd is, that the Text call'd them Angels, and so far we are not to doubt it; but I must also allow, that they

seem to me to have been in the Figure of Men; as for those in the Sepulchre, St. *Luke* says expressly, they saw two men in shining Garments, *Luke* xxiv. 4. and in the same Chapter, ver. 23. 'tis said, they had seen a Vision of Angels.

T H U S far it relates to good Angels, such as have been seen on Earth in Apparition, but have made such an Appearance by vertue of the superior Mission, as the Angel *Gabriel*, who tells *Zacharias*, *I am sent to speak unto thee*².

T H A T these have upon many occasions been seen in Humane Shape is evident; and tho' much more time might be spent upon the Proof, I think 'tis needless; indeed the Evidence is sufficient.

T H E R E is a Question still remaining, relating to this Part, (*viz.*) How comes it to pass that all this has ceased, and that the Angels have done coming, or are no more sent of such Errands? but that all the Angels we have any Account of in these Days, are of a worse kind, and generally come upon worse Errands? and which particular Observation is very reason of our Doubts, whether the Appearance of the other is real or not.
[sig.C2^b]

T H I S Question might be answer'd many Ways, but 'tis too grave for the Times; and as we are not writing Divinity, I shall not load you with serious Points: The

short Account of this: *We have now a more sure Word of Prophecy:* (that is) that since the Preaching of the Gospel, and the Revelation of God by a written Word, there is no more need of what they Text calls a *ministration of Angels*. The Scripture is a daily Revelation, and the Spirit of God, who is promised to lead us, is a daily Inspiration, there is no more need of Vision and Apparition; and this is that glorious Difference between the Revelations of those Days, and these of ours, and the Reason of the Difference between the Apparitions of these Times and of those.

W H E N I am speaking things serious, I am to speak very short, that I may not shock your reading; the Taste of the Times happening at this Juncture to lye another way: but my next Article perhaps may make you amends, I mean the Appearance of the grand Arch-Angel of all, and, as I suppose, the only Arch-Angel out of Heaven, namely the Devil.

C H A P. III.

*Of the A P P E A R A N C E of the D E V I L in
Humane Shape.*

P R A Y observe, when I am speaking of the Appearance of the Devil, it is not to tell you that he can and does appear among us at this time; so you need not look over

your Shoulders to see him, or at the Candles, to see [sig.C3^d] if they burn B L U E, at least not yet; 'tis time enough for that by and by.

B U T I am examining now the matter of Fact only, as (1.) Whether the Devil can appear here, yea or no; whether he is allow'd to come, that his Chain reaches so far, and that his Tether is long enough? also, (2.) Whether he is ever sent or directed to come, or that he comes of his own accord, and about his own Business? And as all these will lead me to enquire what has been; from thence we may best judge, what is, or may be.

T H A T he has upon special Occasions appear'd in former Times is certain, as well from Scripture as ancient History, and a small Retrospect will satisfie you in that Point. If it appears that he has been here, then 'tis very probable his Chain is long enough, and that he is allow'd the Liberty to come so far from Home. For we have no Authority to say, or to believe, that his Tether is shorten'd, or that he is more restrain'd now than ever he was before.

H I S entring the Garden of God in the beginning of Time, and the Havock he made there, the turning *Adam* and *Eve* out, and even turning the whole frame of Nature upside down by his vile Doings there; all this I have mention'd: But we have more yet to say of him; for he is still in Being, and still the same malicious Devil, the

same Destroyer and Accuser that ever he was; the Flame of Fire set to guard the Garden, did not burn him; the Deluge didn't drown him: Nor has Justice thought fit yet to take him into its Iron Hands, tho' it will certainly do it at last; and, as the Scripture says in another Case, his Damnation slumbereth not; for Justice is truly represented

With Leaden Feet and Iron Hands, to show

It will be certain, tho' it may be slow¹.

[sig.C3^b]

T H E first time we meet with the Devil's personal Appearance upon Earth, I mean after the Flood, is in the Story of *Job*; nor by all the Calculations of Times, which the learned Chronologers of those Days have made, could that be long after it; for *Eliphaz the Temanite* could not be farther off than the Grandson of *Esau*, or thereabouts. Gen. xxxvi. 11.

I N *Job's* Time, the Text says that *the Sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them²*. So that it seems the Angel of Light was dress'd up like the Sons of G O D, even in those ancient Days; and it is not likely that this was the first Time neither: Again, it seems by the Text, that

tho' G O D himself might know Satan in that Disguise, yet the People, among whom he came, did not know him.

T H E Answer likewise which he makes to the Question, implies strongly, that Satan had been wont to walk among the Sons of God in Disguise long before that; for when God says to him, *whence comest thou*³? his Answer seems to be a kind of general, I come from following my known Business, my old Trade; doest thou know I am a roaring Lion, and doest thou ask me whence I come? Why, I come from seeking who I may devour, ranging the World, *going to and fro in the Earth*, and *walking up and down*⁴ in this Disguise, as thou now seest me, that I may do all the Mischief I can.

G O D 's Return again to Satan confirms it, as if the Lord had said; Well, Satan, then thou must have seen my Servant *Job*? *Hast thou consider'd him, that there is none like him in the Earth*⁵? T H E Devil makes an Answer that implies he knew *Job* very well⁶. Do I know him to be a good Man! yes: But then I know him to be a rich Man too: 'Tis an easy thing for a Man to be honest, that is so rich; he can have no room for asking [sig.C4^d] more: What should he steal for, or be a Knave for, that is the richest Man in the World? What should he covet, that has no room for Desire? But if thou hast a Mind to try his Honesty, and his Piety, his Fear of thee, and his Hatred of Evil, blast his Wealth, and take his prodigious Flocks

and Herds of Cattle away; level him, bring him to be like other Men in Riches, and reduce him to Beggary, and then see if he won't be like other Men in Crime; nay, he'll be ragging and furious, and *curse thee to thy Face*⁷.

T H I S, tho' it may seem remote, is to my Purpose thus: it shows that the Devil was no Stranger among the People. He had walk'd up and down in Disguise, so as to know them all, and their Circumstance; He had been dress'd up like one of the rest in Human Shape, so that he could not be known from the very best of Men, no not from the Sons of God.

S O M E are of Opinion, by the *Sons of God* there, is meant the patriarchal Heads of Families, who had, in right of Primogeniture, the Priesthood in Course, and were the only Sacrificers at that Time, as *Abraham*, and as *Job* were; so that in short Satan has long ago dress'd himself in the Habit of the Clergy. Bless us all! we hope he does not do so still; for if the Devil should put on the Gown and Cassock, or the black Cloak, or the Coat and the Cord, and be walking about the World in that Disguise now, how easliy may we be cheated, and mistake the Sons of God for the Prince of Darkness? and how could we tell one from t'other? But of that here-after.

[sig.C4^b]

C H A P. IV.

Of the Apparition of Spirits Unembodied, and which never were Embodied; not such as are vulgarly called Ghosts, that is to say, departed Souls returning again and appearing visibly on Earth, but Spirits of a superior and angelick Nature; with an Opinion of another Species.

T H E R E appears a Question here in the very Beginning of the Debate, which will be very hard to decide, and perhaps impossible: However, that we may not stumble at the Threshold, I will touch it as gently, and yet as clearly as I can. The Question is this; Whether there are any Spirits inhabiting the invisible World, which have never yet been embodied, and yet are not to be reckon'd of the Species of Angels *Good* or *Bad*?

B Y Angels Good and Bad, I suppose I may be easily understood to mean what you all think you mean when you sort or rank them into only two Kinds, viz. Angels or *Devils*; in which vulgar and general, not to say foolish way of expressing it, I humbly conceive the self-wise World much mistaken. It is true it is a Speculation, and every one is at Liberty to think for themselves, and among them so am I; in which, tho' I have a better Opinion of my own Judgement than always to sacrifice it

to vulgar Notions, and that too at the Price of my Reason; yet I have withal so little Pride, and so mean an Opinion of my own Thoughts, that I shall not venture to advance any thing, in a Case so exceeding liable to Cavil and Exception.

T W O Places in Scripture speak of Angels in a different Style from the ordinary and usual way of understanding the Word. *Mat. xviii. 10.* speaking of little Children, Christ says, that *in Heaven their Angels do always behold the Face of my Father which is in Heaven*: the other is *Acts xii. 15.* when *Peter* knock'd at the Door where the Disciples were gather'd together, and they believing him to be in Chains, and in the Prison, said *it is his Angel*.

T H E learned Expositors and Annotators extremely differ upon the Meaning of these Texts, and 'tis not my Business here to reconcile them. Some will have it to mean nothing but a kind of Exclamation or Admiration; What can it be! is it an Angel! And of the first, about Children, they say it only intimates, that their Souls, when glorify'd, shall always, if they go away in Peace, *behold the Face of G O D in Heaven*.

O T H E R S run out to an imaginary Scheme of Guardian Angels attending every Man and Woman while they are upon Earth; a Notion so uncertain, if granted, and that has so many Difficulties to reconcile, before it can be

believed, that 'tis much better to leave it where it is, and which I shall explain presently a much easily Way.

N O W, I say, 'tis not my Business to reconcile these distant and clashing Opinions, at least not in this Work. I have started a Question; possibly my Opinion is with the affirmative, at least I think it possible, and that it is Rational to believe it; perhaps I may name you as improbable a Notion, and much more inconsistent with the Christian Religion, which yet Philosophy bids us call rational, and directs us to believe.

H O W are we to put it to form Inhabitants for the Planetary Worlds: Philosophy says they are habitable Bodies, solid, opaac, as this Earth, and we will have them be inhabited also, whether it be with or without, for or against our Reason and Understanding; 'tis no Satisfaction to them, or will it [sig.C5^b] stop their Cavils, to say 'tis not Fact; that they are not habitable; that both *Saturn* and *Jupiter* are uncomfortably dark, unsufferably cold, would congeal the very Soul (if that were possible) and so are not habitable on that Account; that *Mercury* and *Venus* are insufferably hot, that the very Water would always boyl, the Fire burn up the Vitals; and that, in short, no human Creatures could subsist in such Heat: But this is not satisfactory neither; but rather than not have all those opaac Worlds be inhabited, and even their *Satellites* or Moons about

them too, they will have God be obliged to create a Species of Bodies suitable to their several Climates.

I N *Saturn* they are to live without Eyes, or be a Kind so illuminated from their internal Heat and Light, that they can see sufficiently by their own Beams.

I N *Jupiter* there must be another Kind, that can live in Twilight, and by the Reflection of its own Moons, and subsist in continued Frost.

I N *Mercury* the Species must all be Salamanders, and live in the continued Fire of the Sun's Beams, more intense than would be sufficient to burn all our Houses, and melt our Copper, Lead, and Iron in the very Mines; so the Inhabitants must be a Kind better able to bear the Fire than those Metals, and would still live tho' they were continually calcining if not vitrifying into Glass.

I N *Venus* the Heat would boil the Water, and consequently the Blood in the Body, and a Set of human Bodies must be form'd that could live always in a hot Bath, and neither sweat out their Souls, or melt their Bodies.

I N *Mars*, so very dry in its Nature, no Vegetables or Sensatives¹ could subsist that we have any Notion of, for want of Moisture; and the Men that liv'd there must be dried up sufficiently for pulverizing on any suitable Occasion, I mean human Beings, and of our Species.
[sig.C6^a]

N O W if God must not be supposed to have created so many habitable Bodies without peopling them, and that it would reflect upon him Wisdom to lay so much of his Creation waste; that all the Planets should seem to be made for nothing but to range about the Waste as a kind of dark Inhabitants; of no use but to shine a little, and that with but borrow'd Beams too, upon this little Point called Earth, where only a Set of Rationals can exist; I say, if this must not be supposed, but on the contrary there are certainly People of one Kind or another in all those Bodies, let the Trouble of making them be what it will; if this be the Case, and that this must be believed in spite of so many Difficulties and Inconsistencies; then allow me to argue a little upon the following Enquiry.

W H Y may I not as well suggest, and that with every jot as much Probability, that there are, or at least may be, a certain Number of appointed Inhabitants in the vastly-extended Abyss of Space, a kind of Spirits (other than the Angels good or bad, and other than the unembodied or uncased Souls of Men) who dwell in the invisible World, and in the Vast *No-where* of unbounded Space, of which we can neither say what it is, what it contains, or how determined: That Great Waste, of whose Extent 'tis hardly possible even the Soul itself can conceive, and of which all the Accounts we give, and

Guesses we make, are so remote, look so Enthusiastic, so improbable, and so like impossible, that instead of informing the ignorant Part of the World by it, we only arm them with Jest and Ridicule, and resolve them into incurable Unbelief; depending that what it is not possible to Conceive of, is not possible to Be.

N O W is this immense Space indeed a Void? is it all a Waste? is it utterly desolate? or is it inhabited and peopled by the Omnipotent Maker, in a manner [sig.C6^b] suited to his own Glory, and with such Inhabitants as are spirituous, invisible, and therefore perfectly proper to the Place?

I M U S T need say, 'tis much more rational to suggest this to be, than to bring out a Species of human bodies to live in the Intense Heat of *Mercury*, or the acute Cold of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*. The latter is agreeable to the general Understanding we all have of spirituous Beings: We are well assured there are some always there, and that they can very well subsist there; that the Place is suitable to them, and that there are Spirits of some Kind or other; and why not such as we suggest?

I T remains then only to examine what Communication these Spirits have with us, whether they are or are not able to hold Conversation with us, and whether they really do converse familiarly with us, yea or no?

I F it should be granted that there are such Spirits in Being, and that they pass and repass, exist, and have Egress and Regress there; that they in habit, as a certain bombastic Author has it,

Thro' all the liquid Mazes of the Sky²;

I say, if this should be granted, then it remains that here is a fourth Species that may assume Shapes; for Spirits may do that, and may appear among us, may converse with our embodied Spirits, and from those we may receive abundance of additional Intelligence from the World of Spirits, whether by Dream, Vision, Appearance, or any superior way, such as to them in their great Knowledge of things shall seem meet. To speak as distinctly of this nice Part as I can, admit me to explain my self a little.

I F we grant that Spirit, tho' invisible in it self, may assume Shape, may vest it self so with Flesh and Blood, that is seemingly, so as to form an Ap- [sig.C7^a] pearance, then all Spirit may do it; since we have no Rule given us by which we may distinguish Spirits one from another, I mean as to their acting in the Capacity of Spirits: We may indeed, as I have said already, distinguish them by the Effect, that is to say, by the Errand they come on, and by the manner of their

Operations, as whether they are good or evil Spirits; but not by their Nature as Spirit. The Devil is as really a Spirit, tho' a degenerated, fallen, and evil Spirit, I say, he is as much a Spirit to all the Intents and Purposes of a Spirit that we are capable to judge of, as an Angel; and he is called the evil Spirit; He has Invisibility, and Multipresence, as a Spirit has; he can appear tho' the Doors be shut; and go out, tho' bolted and barred in; no Prison can hold him, but his last eternal Dungeon; no Chains can bind him, but the Chains fasten'd on him by Heaven, and the Angel of the bottomless Pit; no Engine or human Art can wound him; in short, his is neither to be seen, felt, heard, or understood, unless he pleases; and he can make himself both seen and heard too, if he pleases; for he can assume the Shape and Appearance of Man or Beast, and in these Shapes and Appearances can make himself visible to us, terrify and affright us, converse in a friendly or frightful manner with us, as he thinks fit; he can be a Companion and Fellow-Traveller in the Day, an Apparition and a horrible Monster in the Night: in a Word, he can be among us, and act upon, and with us, visibly or invisibly as he pleases, and as he finds for his purpose.

N O W if he does, and can do thus, meerly as he is a Spirit, and by his spiritual Nature, we have a great deal of Reason to believe, that all Spirit may do the same; or

at least I may ask, Why may not all Spirit do the same? and if there are any Kinds [sig.C7^b] of Spirit, as it is not improbable, besides those we have hitherto conceiv'd of, they may be reasonably supposed to be vested with the same Powers, and may exert those Powers in the same or a like manner.

I F any Man asks me how I make out the Probability of these differing Species of Spirits? I answer as above, by this, That it appears there are invisible Operations and a secret Converse carried on among Men from the World of Spirits, where-ever that is, which cannot, at least to our Understandings, be supposed to be the Work either of those particular or proper Angels which reside in Heaven, or the infernal Angels either; that these Spirits, or if you please to call them Angels, appear and converse for Good, and therefore may not be supposed to be the *Devil*, or from the *Devil*: It is said indeed, that they act by a visible kind of Restraint, in doing Good with a sort of imperfection and manifest Debility; so as sometimes to act as it were, to no purpose, being not able to make the Good they aim at effectual, and therefore cannot be from Heaven, the Fountain of Good; who, as he is Good, so he is infinitely able to do all the Good that he appears willing to do: But this, I think, confirms rather than confutes my Opinion; for, it proves them to be sent, and under particular Commission; it only suggests, that 'tis

probable there are Spirits who may be more confin'd and restrain'd in their Power of acting, some than others, and this is not at all inconsistent with the Nature of the thing.

T H E great, and perhaps strongest Argument which our learned Men produce for the Credit of their new Philosophy is, that by this they can the better solve the Difficulties of several other *Phoenomena*, which before were hardly intelligible, or at least which they could not account for any other way. [sig.C8^a]

I N like manner, tho' the Certainty of my Suggestion cannot be arrived to, or supposing it cannot, and that at best it is but a Speculation, scarcely can be called an *Hypothesis*, and that no Evidence can be given for it, yet this must be said of it, that by this Notion we may solve several other Difficulties which we cannot understand any other Way: *such as,*

F I R S T, How it is, and from whence, or by whose Agency we frequently receive such kind Notions of Good or Evil as 'tis certain we do, and yet without receiving any farther Assistance, which perhaps it is not in the Power of the kind Informer to give us, either for the avoiding or embracing the Evil or the Good which they give us Notice of?

W H A T can it be that communicates these approaching distant things, and which it is so much our Interest or

Concern to know? If it were an evil Spirit, I mean a *Devil*, as I have said above, he would never concern himself so much for our Benefit, seeing he is known to will our Ruin to the utmost of his Endeavour, and to wish us fall into all possible Mischief and Disaster.

O N the other hand, it cannot be from Heaven or from the Angels; for the Works of God are all, like himself, perfect, and he would not so far dishonour his Messengers, as to allow them, nay to send them (for they could never come unsent) to give us Notice of Evil, and yet take it out of our Power to avoid it; or to foretell good things at hand, and then give us no Power to embrace them, or to lay hold of them; and it would neither consist with the infinite Goodness, or with the infinite Justice, to do thus by his Creatures.

B E S I D E S, 'tis a kind of incongruous acting, unworthy of the supreme Power, unworthy an Angel's appearing; it rather shews that it is the Pro- [sig.C8^b] duct of some intelligent Being, who tho' it means Good, and has a beneficent Nature that would contribute to our Safety and Property if it could, yet is under some Limitations of its actings, is not able to proceed in the Good it has attempted, that can just do us so much Service as to give us Notice of what may await us behind the dark Curtain of Futurity; but has no Power to go any farther, or to give any Assistance to us in pursing

proper Methods for our Deliverance; no, not so much as to give Directions, much less Powers to act; as a Child discovering a Fire begun in a House, may cry out and alarm the Family, but is able to do no more, no not so much as to tell them as to where-about it is, or which way they should go about to escape from it, much less to quench or prevent it.

T H E S E imperfect Notices, I say, seem to proceed from some good and kind Being, which is near us, exciting, tho' out of our Knowledge, yet not so remote, but that it is in Condition to see and know things good or evil, which tho' approaching, is yet out of our View, and which, if we could take the silent Hint, it might be infinitely for our Advantage, but is able to do no more.

N O W, if such Notices, whether to the Mind by Dreams when asleep, or by waking Impulse, or by Voice, or by Apparition; if they were from Heaven they would never be so imperfect and unassisting; we cannot suppose Heaven would concern itself to give us Notices of Danger impending, of Enemies lying in wait, of Mischiefs approaching, and would then leave us to fall into the Snare by an unavoidable Necessity.

A S to what these Spirits therefore are, where they reside, what Circumstances they are in, and how they have access to our Understandings, I acknowledge the Difficulty to be great, and do not pretend to enter upon

it here; that they may sometimes appear is not improbable: But I hope I may say, [sig.D1^d] that all Apparitions are not the *Devil*, nor yet may they be Angels immediately from Heaven, for many Reasons.

F I R S T, From the Meanness of the Occasions, I mean of some of the Occasions, on which these things happen. That there are Angels sent from Heaven on particular Messages and Errands, to fulfil the Mind and Will of their Maker and Sovereign, all Men must grant; I have already prov'd it, and abundance of Examples may be given of it, besides those already named; but we never find those Angels coming upon trifle Errands, and for things of mean Import. *The Angels of the L O R D* appear'd to *Gideon* at the Threshing-floor, to summon him to the Deliverance of the whole Nation of *ISRAEL*³: *The Angel of the L O R D* appear'd to *David* with his drawn Sword, threatening Destruction to *Jerusalem*⁴: *The Angels* appear'd to the Shepherds to signify the Birth of *C H R I S T*; as an *Angel* had done to the Virgin to salute her, and tell her what great a Work was to be wrought in her⁵: *Angels* appear'd to minister to *C H R I S T* after his Temptation in the Wilderness⁶; and an *Angel* appear'd strengthening him in his Agony, and Angels have appear'd on many other such eminent Occasions; but not except such Occasions were eminent, and that particularly so.

But here you have an old Woman dead, one that, it may be said, has hid a little Money in the Orchard or Garden; and an Apparition, is suppos'd, comes and discovers it, by leading the Person it appears to, to the Place, and making some Signal that he should dig there for somewhat; or a Man is dead, and having left a Legacy to such and such, the Executor does not pay it, and an Apparitions comes and haunts the Executor 'till he does Justice. Is it likely an Angel should be sent from Heaven to find out the old Woman's earthen Dish with thirty or forty Shillings in it? or an Angel should be sent to [sig.D1^b] harrass this Man for a Legacy of perhaps five or ten Pounds? and as to the *Devil*, will any one charge *Satan* with being sollicitous to have Justice done? they that know him at all, must know him better than to think so hardly of him.

W H O then must it be? and from whence? To say it is the Soul or Ghost or the departed Person, and that he could not be at rest, 'till the injur'd Person be Righted, is advanc'd upon no Principle that is agreeable to the Christian Doctrine at all; for if the Souls is happy, is it reasonable to believe that the Felicity of Heaven can be interrupted by so trivial a Matter, and on so slight an Occasion? if the Soul be unhappy, remember the great Gulph fix'd; there is no room for us to believe

that those miserable Souls have any Leisure or Liberty to come back upon Earth on an Errand of such a Nature.

I N a word, there is nothing but Difficulty in it on every side: Apparitions there are, we see no room to doubt the Reality of that Part; but what, who, or from whence, is a Difficulty which I see no way to extricate our selves from, but by granting that there may be an appointed, deputed sort of stationary Spirits in the invisible World, who come upon these Occasions, and appear among us; which Inhabitants or Spirits (you may call them Angels if you please) Bodies they are not, and cannot be, neither had they been ever embodied; but such as they are, they have a Power of conversing among us, and particularly with Spirits embodied, and can by Dreams, Impulses and strong Aversions, move our Thoughts, and give Hope, raise Doubts, sink our Souls to-day, elevate them to-morrow, and many ways operate upon our Passions and Affections; may give Intimations of Good or Evil; but cannot, thro' some unknown Restraint upon their Power, go any farther, speak any plainer, or give the least Assistance to us, no, not by Council or Direction to guide us or tell us how to act for our own Preservation. [sig.D2^d]

I A M told that these may be good *Angels* for all that, and that is no just way of arguing, to say such things are too trifling to send an Angel from Heaven upon

so mean an Errand, and upon so inconsiderable an Affair; since we see Providence daily giving Testimony, not of its Government only, but of its Care and Concern, in and about the meanest Affairs of Life: and that the Scripture it self frequently gives Examples of it, in his feeding the Ravens, taking care of the Sparrows, clothing the Grass of the Field, numbring the Hairs of our Head, &c. So that Infinite is not limited or ty'd up, to or from any degree of acting. Nor is there anything great, or anything small, but as God is seen in his least Creatures, Insects, Mites, and the like; so he is active in the most trifling Event: Nor does that Providence, who yet protects us in, and delivers us from Danger, always act alike, but as the Sovereignty of his Actings is not to be disputed, so neither is his Wisdom impeach'd by suffering Evil to fall upon Man, which the least hint from his Light might have guided him to prevent.

I T H I N K this is the utmost that can be said in the Case, and yet it does not reach us at all; for this is not the meaning of my Objection, no, nor is it the Substance of it; I am not speaking of Providence concerning it self in the Care of its Creatures, I acknowledge all that; but then this Providence acts in its own Way, and by its own invisible Operations; nor is there any occasion for the Agency of such extraordinary

Instruments, and therefore it may be, that the Angels are never sent as Express upon such Things.

T H E King or Government of a Nation may influence the whole Body of the People, at whatever Distance, by the Power of his Laws, directing the Magistrates, and the Inferior Officers, to act in [sig.D2^b] the Name of the Supreme; and this is done without any Step out of the ordinary way of the Administration. But if any extraordinary Occasion require, then a Messenger is dispatch'd with particular Instructions, and special Power, as the particular Case may require.

S O Providence, (which is, in a word, the administrations of Heaven's Government in the World) acts in its ordinary Course, and in the usual Way, with an universal Influence upon all Things, and nothing is below its Concern; but when extraordinary Things present, then the particular express Messengers from Heaven, (viz. the Angels) are sent with Instructions on that particular Affair which they are dispatch'd about, and no other. And I may venture to say, these are never sent upon Trifles, never sent but on extraordinary Occasions, and to execute some special Commission; and this comes directly to the Case in hand.

I N the next Place I demand, when cou'd it be said, or what Example can be given, where an Angel from Heaven has been sent to give any particular Person Notice of

approaching Dangers, and at the same time left the Mind unalarm'd, and in a state of Indolence, not capable of rousing it self up to shun and avoid the Danger threaten'd, or without Direction and Assistance to prevent or escape it; this is what I alledge is unworthy of the Divine Wisdom and Goodness.

L O O K into all the Messages or Notices that have been given from Heaven on such Occasions, in all the Histories of the Scripture, or almost elsewhere, and you will see the difference evidently. Take a few for Example.

T W O Angels are sent to *Sodom*, not only to destroy the City for its Wickedness, but to save *Lot*. Well, they come to him, they tell him what they are about to do, and that they are sent to do it; [sig.D3^d] namely, burn the City. This might have been enough; and perhaps, had it been notic'd to him by the Spirits I am speaking of, this had been all; and if *Lot* had not taken their kind Information, it had been his own Fault; nay, as it was, the Text say, *Lot* linger'd, and 'tis plain he left the City with a kind of Reluctance.

B U T the kind Messengers do not satisfie themselves with giving him the Warning, but they rouse up his Indolence. See *Gen. xix. 12. Hast thou any here? any that thou hast a Respect for, or Interest in, bring them out of this Place. ver. 13. We will destroy this Place.* There's a hint of the Danger approaching, and which is a

wise Direction what to do, but this does not satisfie: the Man is not barely caution'd, and directed, but he is to be sav'd; and therefore the beneficent Hand is not content to allarm and council him; but, ver. 15. *When the Morning arose they hasten'd L O T*; they stirred up his unconcern'd Temper, *A R I S E*, *lest thou be consum'd in the Iniquity of the City*; and even this being not enough, for *L O T* linger'd still, and, as I said, seem'd loth to leave the Place; they as it were dragg'd him out; ver. 16. they laid hold of his Hand, and upon the Hand of his Wife, and upon the Hand of his two Daughters, and brought him forth, and set him without the City; and what is the reason of all this? the Words are express, *the Lord being merciful to him*.

T H E rest of the Story is well known: when they had brought him forth, they let him know he would not be safe even there; but adds, *Escape for thy Life, look not behind thee*: Nay, he tells him whither he should go, ver. 17. *Escape to the Mountain lest thou be consum'd*. Here was a Message like a Work of Heaven; here was the Warning of Danger, and Directions to take proper Measures of Deliverance, and those Measures pointed out even to the very Place where he should be safe.

T A K E another Place exactly like this, *Matt. ii.13*. An Angel is sent to *Joseph* in a Dream, to warn him of the

Danger attending the Holy Infant, then in the Virgin Mother's Arms: the Words are express; *H E R O D will seek the young Child to destroy him*: Does the blessed Notice leave *Joseph* to sleep on, to say 'tis nothing but a Dream? I don't see any Danger, I believe there's nothing in it; as is our Language often on such Occasions. No, no; This Message was from Heaven, who never gives such Notice of Evil, and then leaves us unallarm'd, undirected, supine and easie, 'till it falls upon us without Remedy; the Angel adds presently, *A R I S E and take the young Child and his Mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there 'till I bring thee Word.*

T H U S you see the Nature of the Divine Proceedings, the effectual manner of Notices from Heaven; the Danger is told, and then the Way to avoid it; and always with a hasting Allarm, Up, get thee out of the City; Arise, flee into Egypt; and the like.

A N O T H E R is the Story of *Peter* in the Prison: and Angel is sent to deliver him, *Acts xii*⁷. and what does the Angel do? a Light shin'd in the Prison, and he smote him on the Side; this was to awaken and alarm him; this, and a Light to show him the Way, was sufficient to have put him upon trying to escape. But the Angel did not come so far to do his Work by Halves, but having awak'd him he goes on with his Work, and to perfect his

Deliverance; A R I S E Q U I C K L Y *Peter*, and rais'd him up, and then made the Chains fall off from his Hands.

N O R yet had he done; *gird thy self*, says the Angel, and *bind on thy Sandals*, or as we would say, put on your Shoes: still *Peter* was at a loss what to [sig.D4^a] do; then the Angel adds, *cast thy Garment about thee, and follow me*. Then he leads him through all the Wards, and opens the Iron Gate for him, and never left him 'till he had brought him out into the Street; nay, through one Street, that the Keepers should not know which way to pursue him.

T H I S was an Appearance or Apparition to the Purpose; and such have been all those Transactions of Heaven, which have been under the Hands of express Messengers. You see all these three were done by Angels sent on purpose; *Peter* expresses it in so many Words, Acts xii. 11. *Now I know of a surety, that the L O R D has sent his Angels, and hath deliver'd me*.

N O W let us see how it has far'd with those who have receiv'd Notices of approaching Danger from the invisible World, by the Hands of other Messengers.

J U L I U S C Æ S A R had several Hints given him of his approaching Fate; one particular Southsayer pointed out the very Day to him, namely, *the Ides of March*, but he had no Power to avoid his Fate⁸. The kind Spirit that foreboded, and gave hints to him, that he was in Danger,

as if contented with having done his part, left him to be murther'd. No Assistance given him to rouze up his Spirits to take the Alarm: He is not led by the Hand, and told, *go not into the Senate House, as was done for Lot; escape for thy Life.* The kind Monitor does not name the Traytors and Assassimators to him, and say *Brutus, and Cassius, Casca, and others, wait there to kill you; as the Angel to Joseph, Herod will seek the young Child and destroy him.*

A N D on the other side, *Cæsar*, bold and unalarm'd, indolent, and having things not sufficiently explain'd to him; (and the good Spirit, as may be suppos'd, able to do no more for him;) goes on, enters the Senate House, mocks the Southsayer, and tells him [sig.D4^b] *the Ides of March are come*, who sharply return'd, *But they are not past.* In a word, neglecting his own Safety, and wanting a compleat Information, he goes into the Senate, and is murther'd.

J U L I A N the Apostate⁹ is another Example: He had a thousand ill Omens, as they call'd them, which attend him at and before his undertaking the *Persian War*; such as the dying of the Consul *Julianus* of his own Name, the burning of the Temple of *Apollo*, and several other Accidents; and tho' he has the most superstitious of all the Heathen Emperors that were before him, and sent to all the Oracles, to all the Augers¹⁰ and Southsayers he

could hear of, insomuch as the Citizen of *Antioch* made a Jest of him for it; Yet he was so blinded by his Flatterers, or deluded by the Priests, who construed the worst and most portentous things, to mean the best Events; or, which is beyond it all, by the superior Decree of an appointed Vengeance; that he went on and was kill'd in the very beginning of the War; the first Battle with the *Persians* carried him off.

I M I G H T multiply Examples of the like kind, even on both sides, and especially on the last; but 'tis sufficient; our own Experience will confirm it: secret Notices are daily given us of capital Dangers attending, and yet how do the most vigilant Observers of those Signals, and the most eminent Omen-Hunters, even after those Notices, sit still, and grow indolent? or else, amaz'd and bewilder'd, they say, I know there something a coming to me, some Mischief attends me, I have plain Notice of it; but I don't know what it is, I can't tell what to do; I can do nothing to avoid or prevent it. And thus they fall into the Pit, as we may say, with their Eyes open, and in spite of the kind Spirit's beneficent Warning. [sig.D5^a]

W H A T can this be? but because the Spirit, tho' really kind and beneficent, yet limited and impotent in Power, was able to do no more than give the Hint, leaving

the Person to his own Prudence to guard and direct himself?

I M I G H T add here what 'tis rational enough to suggest, viz. that Heaven in its infinite Wisdom and Goodness may have appointed these Good Spirits to give such Notices, yet allowing them to do no more, that the Mind of Man being duly alarm'd at approaching Evil, and believing something very fatal to him is at Hand; but seeing no kind Being directing what Methods to take for his Deliverance, or for escaping the impending Mischief, should turn his Eyes (at least) a little upwards, and call for Direction and Council from that Hand, who alone can both direct and deliver.

B U T hold! whither am I going? This looks like Religion, and we must not talk a Word of that, if we expect to be agreeable. Unhappy Times! where to be serious, is to be dull and grave, and consequently to write without Spirit. We must talk politely, not religiously; we may show the Scholar, but must not show a Word of the Christian; so we may quote prophane History, but not sacred; and a Story out of *Lucan* or *Plutarch*, *Tully*, or *Virgil* will go down, but not a Word out of *Moses* or *Joshua*.

W E L L, we must comply however; the Humour of the Day must prevail; and as there is no instructing you without pleasing you, and no pleasing you but in your own Way, we

must go on in that Way; the Understanding must be refin'd by Allegory and Enigma; you must see the Sun through the Cloud, and relish Light by the help of Darkness; the Taste must be rectify'd by Salts, the Appetite wetted by Bitters; in a word, the Manners must be reform'd in Masquerade, Devotion quick- [sig.D5^b] en'd by the Stage not the Pulpit, and Wit be brighten'd by Satyrs upon Sense.

T H I S Hypothesis, of a new suppos'd Class of Spirits, would lead me into a great many useful Speculations; and I might remark with great Advantages from it, upon the general Indolence, which it is evident has so fatally possess'd our Men of Wit in this Age. To see a Fool, a Fop, believe himself inspir'd, a Fellow that washes his Hands fifty times a-day, but if he would be truly cleanly, should have his Brains taken out and wash'd, his Scull Trapan'd^{ll}, and plac'd with the hind-side before, that his Understanding, which Nature plac'd by Mistake, with the Bottom upward, may be set right, and his Memory plac'd in a right Position; To this unscrew'd Engine talk of Spirits, and of the invisible World, and of his conversing with unembodied Soul, when he has hardly Brains to converse with any thing but a Pack of Hounds, and owes it only to being a Fool, that he does not converse with the Devil! who if he has any Spirit about him, it must be one of these indolent Angels I speak of;

and if he has not been listed among the Infernals, it has not been for want of Wickedness, but for want of Wit.

I D O N 'T wonder such as these go a mobbing among those meanest and mad Things call'd *Free-Masons* rough Cheats, and confess'd Delusions are the fittest things to amuse them. They are like those foolish Fish that are caught in large Nets, that might get out at every Square of the Mash, but hang by the Gills upon their meer Thread, and chuse to hamper and tangle themselves, when there is no occasion for it, and are taken even in those Snares that are not laid for them. [sig.D6^d]

C H A P. V.

Of the Appearance of Departed Unembodied Souls.

I N O W come to the main and most disputed Part of shadowy Appearance, viz. the Apparition of Unembodied Soul.

I t is Material Difficulty here, and ought to be consider'd with the utmost Plainness, (viz.) what we mean by *Unembodied Soul*; whether we understand Souls which have been encas'd in Flesh, but being unhous'd are now moving about, in what State we know not, and are to be spoken of as in their separate Capacity: Or whether there is any such thing as a Mass of Soul, as a learned but pretty much inconsistent Writer calls it¹, which waits to be embodied, as the superior Disposer of that Affair, (be that who or what he pleases) may direct.

T H I S I confess is to me something unintelligible, looks a little *Platonick*, and as if it were a-kin to the Transmigration²-Whimsie of the Ancients; but if they would found it upon any thing rational, it must be upon the Suggestion mention'd above, viz. of a middle Class of Spirit, neither Angelick-Heavenly, or Angelick-Infernal: But Spirits inhabiting the invisible Spaces, and allow'd to act and appear here, under express and greatly

strain'd Limitations, such as are already describ'd, and of which much more may still be said.

B U T that I may clear up your Doubt as to the Part I am upon, I have added at the Head of this Section, the Word *Departed*, to intimate to you, that I am Orthodox in my Notion; that I am none of the Sect of Soul-Sleepers³, or for imprisoning [sig.D6^b] Souls in a *Limbus* of the Ancients; but that, in a few Words, by the Appearance of Souls Unembodied, I mean such as having been embodied or imprison'd in Flesh, are discharg'd from that Confinement, or as I call it unhous'd and turn'd out of Possession. For I cannot agree that the Soul is in the Body, as in a Prison; but rather that, like a rich Nobleman, he is pleas'd to inhabit a fine Country Seat or Palace of his own Building, where he resolves to live and enjoy himself, and does so, 'till by the Fate of things his fine Palace being over-turn'd, whether by an Earthquake or otherwise, is bury'd in its own Ruins, and the noble Owner turn'd out of Possession, without a House.

T H I S Soul, we are told, and I concur in the Opinion, has sometimes made a Tour back into this World; whether Earth, or the Atmosphere of the Earth, call it where you will, and express it how you will, it matters not much: Whence it comes, how far the Journey, how, and why it came hither, and above all, how it goes back again, and

what those various Apparitions are which counterfeit those Spirits: enquire within, and you shall know farther.

T H A T the Unembodied Souls of Men Dead, as we say Departed, have appeared, we have affirm'd from the Authority of the Scripture; which I must allow to be an authentick Document, whatever the Reader may please to do; 'till a History more authentick, and of better Authority may be produc'd in the Room of it.

A S to the Appearance of *Samuel*, rais'd by the Witch⁴, I despise it, as it is offer'd in the Capacity of a Soul, much more as the unembodied Soul of *Samuel*; which tho' it might have been caus'd to appear, as the Sovereign of all Spirits, with whom the Soul of *Samuel* is at Rest, had thought fit; yet could no more be summon'd from that Rest, by [sig.D7^d] the Conjuraton of an old Witch, than the Devil could fetch it out of Heaven by Force. Nor was it likely that God, who refus'd so much as to speak to that abandon'd Prince, whom he had so righteously rejected, and that would answer him neither by *Urim*, or by *Thummin*, that would neither hear his Prayer, or accept his Offering, would hear a Witch, a Creature likewise sentenc'd to Death by his own righteous Law, and send *Samuel* at her Infernal Paw-wawing from Heaven, to tell *Saul* that tomorrow he should be cut into Pieces by the

Philistines; there seems to be no Consistency at all in it, no, none at all.

T H E Appearance of the Thing call'd *Samuel*, was, in my Opinion, neither more or less than a Phantom or Spectre, which (as the *Devil* is allow'd to do) might personate the old departed Prophet, and who, at the Witch's Summons, and by Heaven's Permission, came up to pronounce the dreaded Sentence upon *Saul*, and let him see what was the Effect of his forsaking God, and rejecting his Prophet *Samuel*. And thus it might be allow'd also to speak in the first Person of the Prophet, as it did; nor do I say, or think, as some do, that it was the *Devil* in *Samuel's* Likeness; if it had, 'tis not likely that old Woman would have been so frightened as to cry out, seeing she was better acquainted with the *Devil*, than to be surpriz'd, if it had been her old Familiar.

B U T she saw something she did not expect, and perhaps had never seen before; for she tells the King, she saw Gods ascending out of the Earth; by which I cannot but understand, she saw some of those Spirits which I have mention'd, which are not Infernal, and who might foresee what the *Devil* himself cannot; for I have no reason to believe Satan knows any thing of Futurity. [sig.D7^b]

I F it be asked here, by what Authority the Witch could bring up one even of these Spirits; that indeed may be difficult to answer, other than thus, that it might be as

*Balaam*⁵ was over-rul'd to bless, when he intended to curse; and that at her Call, and to pronounce the approaching Fate of *Saul*, and *Israel* with him, she might be over-rul'd, and so call'd up, or call'd in, a good Spirit instead of the *Devil* .

A S for the Spectre's speaking in the Name of *Samuel* in the Scripture, and the Text representing it as if it were really *Samuel* himself, 1 Sam. xxviii. 1₅. And *Samuel* said to *Saul*, *why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?* I take it to be an Expression *Ad Hominem*⁶, to the common Understanding, and to be understood as all Allegorick or Figurative Expressions are understood; and it no more proves that it was *Samuel*, and is no more to be taken literally, than the other Words in the same Verse are to be literally understood.

1. *W H Y* hast thou disquieted me? as if it was in *Saul's* Power, by the Conjurations of an abhorr'd condemn'd Limb of the *Devil*, a proscrib'd Witch, to disquiet the departed Soul of *Samuel*; the Meaning is no more than this, What is your Business with me, what do you trouble me for? You that despised me, and acted contrary to all my Directions, and would go on in your Perverseness in spite of me, and of all I could say to you; what do you come to me for, now I am dead?

2. *T O bring me up?* intimating that *Samuel* was below, or was called *ab Inferis*⁷; which is contrary to Reason as

well as Religion, and neither consists either with our Notion, or anybody's else, except it be the Soul-sleepers, who tell us, the Soul sleeps with the Body in the Grave 'till the Resurrection; and if so, then must the old Woman have had Power to awake him whenever she pleas'd. [sig.D8^d]

U P O N the whole, it seem this Woman was a Witch of some Eminency, and had more than ordinary Power in her way. For when *Saul* applies to her, she asks him, Whom shall I bring up? intimating that she was able to bring up who she would, either from *Heaven* or *Hell*.

T H I S Boldness plainly infers, that she had no Power at all, but this; that being a Witch, and one that had a Familiar Spirit, she could cause her Familiar or Devil, call it what we will, to appear and personate who she pleas'd to name. For why should not the *Devil* be able to dress himself up like one dead Person, as another? and why not appear as well in the Shape of a dead Man, as of a living One?

S O that to me there is no more Difficulty in his Dressing himself like *Samuel*, than there was in calling himself so, or than speaking in the first Person of *Samuel*, as above; Why disquiet ME, and why bring ME up? All that seem inexplicable in it is, how he should be able to tell *Saul* what should happen, (*viz.*) that G O D would deliver *Israel* into the Hands of the *Philistines*,

and him (*Saul*) with them, and that to-morrow he should be with him; that is, among the Dead, should be killed in the Battel. This indeed has something difficult in it, because the Devil is not allow'd to be a Prophet, or able to predict what is to come. But these things may be all answer'd by the Story of *Balaam*, where the wicked Creature, tho' a Wizard, and a Conjuror, yet was directed, not only to bless *Israel* in spite of all the Gifts and Rewards that the King of *Moab* offer'd him, but was enabled to prophecy of Christ, and foretel the glorious appearing of the Messiah; Numb. xxiv. 17. *I shall see him but not now, I shall behold him but not nigh; There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall arise out of Israel; and again, out of J A C O B shall come he that shall have Dominion*⁸. This was a plain and direct Prophecy [sig.D8^b] of Christ, who is call'd in the *Revelations* the Morning-Star; and yet this *Balaam* was a Witch, a Dealer with an Evil Spirit, and receiv'd the Wages of Unrighteousness.

T H E next Testimony which we find in sacred History, of the Reality of Apparitions, as it respects the Souls of departed Persons, is the Appearance of *Moses* and *Elias* with *Jesus Christ* in the Mount, at his Transfiguration; they not only were there, really and personally, in their Habits, and so as to be known to the Disciples, but they appear'd talking with Christ; so that it was a Perfect

and Compleat Apparition, (*viz.*) the particular Persons appearing, and known by the Persons to whom they appear'd, *Mat. xvii. 3.* And in another Place, the Manner of the Apparition is describ'd, as also what they talk'd of, *Luke ix. 38⁹. Who appeared in Glory and talk'd of his Deccase, which he should accomplish in Jerusalem.*

T H I S is so plain and unquestionable an Appearance of departed Souls, that they who dispute it, must not only doubt of the Divinity of the Scripture, but must dispute its being an authentick History; which its Enemies will hardly deny.

W E have yet another Testimony, and this is as positive and express as the rest; *Matth. xxvii. 52. And the Graves were opened, and many of the BODIES of the Saints which slept A R O S E, and came out of the Graves after his Resurrection, and went into the Holy City, and appeared unto many.*

T H I S is a remarkable Place, and would admit of a long Exposition; but I must not preach, and if I might, I am no Annotator; as far as it is to my present Purpose, *the Bodies arose*, that was extraordinary; but that their Souls were also with their Bodies, is not to be doubted, at least by me for I have no Notion of the Body walking about without the Soul, nor do we ever read of bodily Apparitions. [sig.E1^a]

A N Apparition is vulgarly call'd by us a Ghost, by our Northern People a *Ghest*; now the Ghost is a Spirit, and the Apparition of a Spirit has some Sense in it; the Spirits also assuming a Shape or Body, whether Real, or in Appearance only, has something in it to be talk'd about; but the Apparitions of Body, moving, appearing, walking, or whatever we may call it, without Soul or Spirit, is what was never heard of, and scarce ever suggested.

I T may be observe'd, that those Apparitions quoted from the Scriptures, are not Apparitions in Vision; Dreams in the Night, or supposed Appearances only, but plain, open, day-light Visions; the former would not be to my purpose at all. These were Apparitions that were spoken to, and conversed with; and this is a Proof of what I alledge, viz. that Spirits Unembodied may appear, may reassume humane Shape, their own former Likeness, or any other, and may show themselves to the World, or to as many Persons as they please.

T H E Difficulties which attend this are not a few, tho' none of them destroy the thing it self; as (1.) Whether the Souls of good or bad People unembodied, are really in a State or Condition for such an Appearance? and whether it consists with the just Notions we ought to have of the unalterable State? I mean such Notions as conform to the Scripture, which, if the Parable of the

rich Man and *Lazarus*¹⁰ be a just Representation of it, seems impossible to be, except on such an extraordinary Occasion as that of our Saviour's Transfiguration and Resurrection; that is, by Miracle.

LAZARUS, says the Text, was, upon his Death, carried by the Angels into *Abraham's Bosom*; the rich Man died, and in Hell he lift up his Eyes. That this is suppos'd to be immediately, is evident, because the rich Man speaks of his Brethren that were then alive: If he was not carried thither im- [sig.El^b] mediately, he would certainly not have been carried there at all 'till after the Great Audit; so that it was plain he was there presently after his Death: and that *Lazarus* was carried immediately to Heaven is evident also; because the rich Man is brought in seeing him there, and desiring he may be sent to him.

T O say this is but a Parable, is to say what may be granted without Prejudice to the Point in hand. For as it is a Parable, it would not have been apposite, if it had not been representing things as they were really to be; it would have been a Delusion, and brought to deceive; whereas it is a Parable of our own Lord's bringing, and those Parables that Christ uttered, were the most perfect Representations and Illustrations of the things which they were brought to set forth; nor is any one of them lame in their Allusions, but instructive in every Article; as the Parable of the Prodigal Son¹¹, for

Example, and the Parable of the King making a Marriage for his Son¹², and so of the rest. And why must this alone be lame, and unapt for the purpose?

I F then this Parable is suited to represent the State of the Souls of the Departed, those Souls then can no way be concern'd in the Apparitions which we are speaking of; except as it is before excepted, viz. on such extraordinary Occasions, as that of our Saviour above must be acknowledged to be.

I F then, neither the Souls or Spirits of the Blessed or the Cursed, the Happy or the Miserable, the Sav'd or the Condemn'd, are concern'd in those Appearances, who then are these Inhabitants of the invisible World? What are they that constitute and posses this World of Spirits, so much talk'd of? And if the immense Spaces are taken up, if they are peopled by any spirituous Creatures, if any thing but Stars and Planets range through the *empty Place*, as *Job* calls it, *Job xxvi. 7.* what are [sig.E2^a] they and what are the Spirits that inhabit those Worlds?

T H E R E must certainly be a World of Spirits, or of Spirit, from whence we receive the frequent Visits in Publick, and the frequent Notices in Private, which are so perceptible to us, and which we are so uneasy about: if they are neither good Spirits or bad, if they have neither Power to do us Good or Hurt, as I see a great

deal of Reason to believe, then we have not so much Reason to be terrified about them as we generally are: but of that hereafter.

A S to the Locality of the *Devil*, and his Appearance, that indeed is another Article, and he may, as is said already, cover himself with what Shapes, human or brutal, he pleases; but then this would bring all Apparition to be by the Appearance of the *Devil*, and all the Empire of the Air to be possess'd by him; which I cannot grant: Particularly, because, as I said, some of these Apparitions come of good Errands, to prevent Mischief, to protect Innocence and Virtue, and to discover Injury, Injustice and Oppression; all which are things out very much of the *Devil's* way, remote from his Practice, and much more remote from his Design: The Spirits I speak of must be of a higher Original; they must be Heaven-born, of the glorious Original of angelick Species; and as all things are known by their Consequences, so they are known by their Actings; they do Heaven's Work, are under his immediate Government and Direction, and are honour'd with special Commission; they are employed in his immediate Business, namely, the common Good of his Creature Man: They that *do* Good, demonstrate in the best manner that they are good.

S O that every way we should meet with some Difficulty in this Case, unless solv'd, as I said before, [sig.E2^b]

by the denominating another Class of Spirits neither immediately celestial, or at all infernal; neither embodied, or that have been embodied, or that shall ever be embodied.

I T cannot be expected I should describe what these are, and in what Condition; it is sufficient that I only say Such may be there, and that they may be such as he thinks good to place there who made that empty Place; I may as well ask the Enquirer what sort of Inhabitants they are who possess the Moon or any of the Planets, and whether they dwell in a State of Innocence, or have contracted Guilt; and if the latter, whether there is a glorious Establishment of Redemption, and a Covenant of Life granted for them, as there is here, by the Purchase and Merit of a Saviour?

I T is no fair Question to ask me a Demonstration for an *Hypothesis*; or is it reasonable to tell me they will not believe it, because I cannot prove the Affirmative of what I do not affirm. I advance the Probability, and say, that it is the more Probable, because (as they say of the new Philosophy) by this we can solve several other *Phoenomena*, which we cannot otherwise account for; and I alledge it is much more probable and more rational to suggest it, than it is that the Planets should be inhabited, for which 'tis certain that God must have

created a new Species of Creatures, or that none can dwell there.

T H E Waste or the empty Space, *as Job calls it*, is full of Spirits; I believe that may be taken for granted: they are placed here, *if they are there* by the powerful Hand of the Creator: there is no Philosophy can be pleaded against the Place being habitable; whereas the Objections against the Planets being habitable are unanswerable, but by the Absurdity of bringing Almighty Power in to create several new Species of Creatures, some to live in [sig.E3^d] Fire, some in Frost, some in all Darkness and Ice, some in boiling Waters and scalding Air.

T H E Inhabitants which I suggest are created for the Regions of the invisible World, are Spirits, invisible Substances, Bodies without Body, such as are proper for the Expanse in which they live, and eligible for us to conceive of; and tho' we cannot grasp a Spirit with our Hands, feel it and see it, yet we can in some manner conceive of it. But, for the planetary Inhabitants, we cannot account for them to our selves or any one else, nor can we conceive of any thing of them that we can say is probable or rational.

I S it at all irrational to suppose, or improbable to be, that God may have made a Degree of Angels or ministring Spirits (whether they are angelick, or of

other Species is not for us to determine) who may be of a differing Degree, appointed for a differing Residence, and to different Employments than the superior Angels, for a Season?

A S there are different Degrees of Glory in Heaven, Stars of different Magnitude and Lustre in the Firmament, so may there not be Angels or Spirits of differing Quality and Degrees of Power and Favour? why else are they called *Thrones, and Dominions, Principalities, and Powers*? they are all Titles of Honour given to Angels in the Scripture, *Eph. i. 21. and vi. 12.* If there be several Titles, there must be several Degrees.

T H E R E can be no Superior, if there are no Inferior; what can we understand by Thrones and Principalities in Heaven, but Degrees of Angels? Besides, what do we understand by *Angels* and *Arch-Angels*? 1 *Thess. iv. 16. shall descend with the Voice of an Arch-Angel*; and again, *Jude ver. 3¹³. Michael the Arch-Angel.* [sig.E3^b]

I F there are Angels which are not Arch-Angels, but of an inferior Degree; so there may also be different Degrees among the Angels which are not Arch-Angels; and some of these may be appointed to their Residence in the Air or Atmosphere of this World, (Earth) or within the Compass of this particular Solar System, (for I allow there may be several like Systems).

T H U S those that will suppose these Appearances to be of none but Angels, I shall not contend at all with them: I exclude no Species of Spirits, but the departed unembodied Souls of Men: I have allowed Apparitions to the *Devil* himself upon his own wicked and proper Occasions. I only cannot grant, that because God can, therefore he does employ him, upon his own gracious and beneficent Orders to his Creature; This must at least seem to bring Providence to a Necessity of employing him for want of other Officers, which I think is highly detracting, and dishonouring of the divine Majesty, as if he was oblig'd to employ the *Devil*, as we say, for want of a Better.

B U T excluding Satan, I think God does not want Agents; he has apparently posted an Army of ministring Spirits, call them Angels if you will, or what else you please; I say, posted them round this *Convex*, this Globe the Earth, to be ready at all Events, to execute his Orders and do his Will, reserving still to himself to send express Messengers of a superior Rank on extraordinary Occasions.

I M A K E no question but these are the Angels which carried away *Lazarus* into *Abraham's Bosom*, I mean which are supposed to do so.

I D O U B T not, these are the Angels of which Christ says, his Father, if he had pray'd, would have sent him *more than* twelve Legions for his Guard¹⁴.

T O say it is not to be expected God should cause such a Host of glorious Spirits to attend on [sig.E4^d] this little Point the Earth, and this despicable Species called Man, would be but to oblige me to say, What may not God be supposed to do for that Creature whom he so *lov'd* as to send his only begotten Son to redeem? So at least that Question is fully answer'd.

N O W, these Spirits, let them be what they will, and call them Angels if you please, I conceive these are they whose Appearances give us so much Difficulty to solve: These may, without any Absurdity, be supposed capable of assuming Shape, conversing with Mankind, either in the ordinary or extraordinary Way, either by Voice and Sound, tho' in Appearance and borrow'd Shapes; or by private Notices of things, Impulses, Forebodings, Misgivings, and other imperceptible Communications to the Minds of Men, as God their great Employer may direct.

N O R are these Notions of them at all absurd or inconceivable, tho' the Manner how they act may not be understood by us: 'Tis but Soul, Spirit communicating to Spirit, one intellectual Being to another, and by secret Conveyances, such as Souls converse by.

N E I T H E R is the Apparition of these Spirits any Absurdity; these may be intimate with us, appear to us, be concerned about us, without any thing unintelligible in it: Why may not one Spirit be so as well as another; and one Kind of Species of Spirits as well as another?

I F these are innocent, good-meaning, and beneficent Spirits, why may it not consist with the Wisdom and Goodness of God to suffer such to be conversant with Men, and to have Access to the Spirits embodied; as well as to allow the *Devil* and evil Spirits to converse so among us to our Hurt?

B U T let me give one Caution here, and enter my Protest against the Power, or Pretences to the Power, of raising, or as 'tis call'd, bringing up these [sig.E4^b] Spirits. To call them, and summon them up for Intelligence of human Affairs, and this by Magick and Conjurations, which we vulgarly and justly enough call the *Black Art*; I cannot allow this Part of Science to have any Influence upon, or Command over, any good Spirit: But that, as the *Witch of Endor* obtain'd of the *Devil* to personate the old Prophet *Samuel*, and appear in his Shape, speak in his Name, and act the Prophet in Masquerade¹⁵; so these *Men of Art* may bring up the *Devil* to mimick a good Spirit, call himself and Inhabitant of the World of Spirits, and so delude Mankind, as he does in almost every thing he says to them; But he cannot

really call up one of these independent free Spirits, who are perfectly out of his reach where-ever they are; and whose angelick Nature places them above, not under him, or at his Command.

S A T A N is a conquer'd, subdu'd Enemy; and these indeed were his Conquerors, and are still his Terror; He abhors them, and hates them, and flees before them: And what if I should say they were placed in this Situation, (namely, in the invisible Regions near and about this World) for this very Reason, viz. to keep under this Arch-Enemy and Rebel? as a conquering Prince having obtained a glorious Victory over a powerful Rebel, tho' he retires from the Country with his Troops, the War being over, yet leaves a good Body of Forces to keep the Peace of the Country, and to awe the Rebels from any further Attempt.

T H U S they are Guardian Angels really, and in the very Letter of it, without being oblig'd to attend at every particular Man's Ear or Elbow. Mankind are thus truly said to be in the Hands of God always; and Providence, which constantly works by Means and Instruments, has the Government of the World actually in his Administration, not only by his infinite Power, but by immediate [sig.E5^d] Deputation, and the subdued *Devil* is a Prisoner of War both chain'd and restrain'd.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Manner How the Spirits of every Kind, which can or do appear among us, manage their Appearance; and How they proceed.

T H E Possibility being thus settled, and it being granted that Spirits, or detach'd Angels, do converse with Mankind visibly as well as invisibly, and have Access to us, to our Souls as well as Bodies, as well as by secret Communication, as by open and publick Apparition; it remains to enquire into the Manner how this Conversation is carried on.

I H A V E already entered my Protest against all those Arts call'd Magical and Diabolic, by which Man is made capable (at least) of being Aggressor in this Communication, that he can call up these Spirits, or call 'em down rather, and begin the Conversation when he pleases.

W H E T H E R by Compact and secret Hellish Familiarity with the Devil he may not obtain Leave to use Satan with such Freedom, I will not determine; I doubt he may: for the Devil may depute such and such Powers and Privledges to his Confederates, as to his Honour in his great Wisdom

shall seem meet: But that he can empower them to do the like with those good and beneficent Spirits of the invisible World, who are (I have suppos'd) Spirits, not Devils, that I deny, nor do I see any Reason to grant it.

I C O M E then to the Manner the Spirits, which I would suppose may inhabit the utmost Waste, are able to correspond with us: and first, as Spirits [sig.E5^b] or Angels, call them as you will, they are to be supposed, like other Spirits, to have an extensive Knowledge, and a View of all Created Substances, at least on this side Heaven; a vast capacious Understanding, and unbounded Sight, a Liberty of Loco-motion, passing from one Region to another, from one Planet to another; they are not congeal'd by Cold, or calcin'd by Heat; that they are able to exist in all Climates, even from *Saturn* to *Mercury*; that they may go and come, appear and disappear, here or where else they please; in a word, that they are free Agents, as well in their Motions as Actings. Hence they are necessarily to be supposed to know all things needful to be known, relating to us, as well as to other things; that they can take Cognizance of human Affairs, and that not by Grant or License, or by second hand Information from Hell, from the infernal Spirit, or any other Place, but by their own angelick and spirituous Penetration; and that they have no Dependance upon Satan,

or any Power or Person concern'd with him; that they act also as Spirit on all Occasions.

T H O' we see nothing of them, they see us; tho' we know nothing of them, they know and are conversant about us, are capable of being affected and moved in our Behalf, and to concern themselves for our Good on many Accounts: Hence they often give us Notices and Warnings of Evils attending us, tho' they cannot act so upon material Objects, as to interfere with our Affairs, overrule our Fate, or direct us how to avoid the Evils which they foresee, or to embrace the Good which they see attending us; of which, and the Reasons of it, I have spoken already.

A S they can thus communicate things to our Imagination, so we may suppose, that in Prosecution of that beneficent Concern which they have [sig.E6^a] for us, they can and frequently do assume human Shape, and come to us, talk to us, and converse intimately with us in Apparition and by Voice, nay even in Dialogue, Question and Answer, as they see Occasion.

T H I S conversing in Apparition, is what we call *Walking*; and when any such thing is seen, we say a Spirit *Walks*, or *haunts* such a Place; and tho' this is a mighty terrible thing in the vulgar Appearance, and the People, then these things appear to them, are apt to say they see

the *Devil*; yet it is very often a Mistake, and a very wide Mistake, as appears by the Consequence.

I H A V E heard of a Man who travell'd four Years thro' most of the Northern Countries of *Europe* with the *Devil*¹; if all those Spectres or Apparitions are *Devils*, which I must not grant; nor was this Spectre so insincere as to conceal it self all the while from him, but discover'd to him that he was but an Apparition, without Body, Substance, or any thing but Shape.

I F the Account I have of this Apparition be true, and I have had it by me many Years, he did him Good, and not Hurt; he guided him thro' Desarts and over Mountains, over frozen Lakes, and little Seas cover'd with Snow; he diverted him with Discourses of various Subjects, always issuing of his Good, and for the Encrease of Knowledge: He went with him over the Sea from *Ireland* to the Coast of *Norway*: He procur'd Winds for him, without buying them of Witches or *Laplanders*²: He did not raise Storms for him, because being a Traveller and upon a Voyage, he had no Occasion of them; but he foretold Storms punctually and exactly, preventing the Ship's putting out to Sea when Storms were approaching; found the Ship's Boat and Anchors, when the first was driven away in the Night, and the second weigh'd and run a- [sig.E6^b] way with the *Norwegians* in the Dark, the Ship having been obliged to slip and run up into Harbour; I say, he found them, that

is to say, directed the Seamen where to find them, and to discover the Thieves.

H E did a thousand things for him and for his Accommodation, in his Travels; he was acquainted wherever he came, and procured his Fellow-Traveller Entertainment and good Usage; he knew the Affairs of every Country, and the very People too; he spoke every Language, *German, Norse or Norway, Polish, Prussian, Russian, Hungarian, Tartarian³*, and *Turkish*.

H E past Rivers without Bridges, tho' he would never let his Fellow-Traveller see him do that, or help him to do it; nor would he let him see him mount into that Air upon any occasion whatever; but would set him in his Way, give him very faithful Directions how to find the Places he was going to, and then strike off some other Way, as if he had Business at this or that Place, and would not fail to meet him again punctually at the place he appointed.

S O M E T I M E S he would be seen at a distance a Mile or more, to-day on his right, to-morrow on his left Hand, and keeping even pace with him, come into the same Village or Town where he lodg'd, and take up as it were at another Inn; but if he enquir'd for him in the Morning he was always gone, and the People knew nothing of him, except that they just saw such a Man the Evening before, but that he did not stay.

W H E N he travelled this with him from *Ireland*, as I said, to the Coast of *Norway*, where they were driven in by Storm; and after that by Sea round the Coast of *Norway* to *Gottenburgh*⁴, where they put in again by contrary Winds, he persuaded the Traveller not to go any farther in that Ship. [sig.E7^a]

T H E Traveller being Bound with the Vessel to *Dantzick*⁵, and having a considerable Quantity of Goods on Board, would by no means be prevail'd with to quit the Ship: His Fellow-Traveller told him he had the Second-sight, and that he was assur'd the Ship would never come back to *Dantzick*. However the Traveller not giving so much Credit to him as that requir'd, and not knowing any thing of him at that time, but that he was a strange, intelligent, fore-seeing Man (as he call'd him) would continue the Voyage; whereupon the Stranger left him, and the Ship pursuing the Voyage was surpriz'd with another dangerous Storm; I say another, because they had had one before. In this Tempest the ship was driven upon the Coast of *Rugen*⁶, an Island on the *German* side of the *Baltic*, where with much Difficulty they put into *Straelsund*⁷, a Sea-Port of *Pomeren*⁸, and there the Traveller went on Shore.

H E R E walking pensively and concern'd about the event of his Fortune, and fearing the Ship would really be lost, as his first Man had foretold him; I say, walking

very anxious upon the Key at *Straelsund*, there meets him a Man who he was utterly a Stranger to, but who salutes him in *English*, calls him by his Name, and asks him what he did there.

S U R P R I Z ' D with such a Salutation, and glad to see any Man in such a strange remote Country that he was like to be acquainted with, and much more that he could call him by his Name, he return'd his Compliment, and answer'd that he indeed had not much Business there, but that he came thither by a very unfortunate occasion.

I K N O W you are, says the Gentleman; you came in here last Night in yon Ship; pointing to the Vessel which lay in the Road between the City and the Island of *Rugen*.

I D I D so, says the Traveller, and I am like to have but ill Luck with her. [sig.E7^b]

I D O U B T so, says the Stranger, and I suppose that made you look so much concern'd.

I C A N N O T deny, said he, but I might look troubled, I think I have Cause, for I am here in a strange Country, without Acquaintance or Interest, and know not yet what Condition the Ship is in, or my Goods, which I doubt are damag'd.

I A M assur'd, says the Gentleman, the Ship will not be able to pursue her Voyage, but perhaps your Cargo may be safe. I understand the Goods you have on Board are Herrings.

T H E Y are so, *says the Traveller*; I have twelve Last⁹ of Herrings on Board, and we have had a long Voyage already.

I K N O W you have, *said the Gentleman*; but pull up your Spirits, your Fish is all safe, and you may get it on Shore; and you shall either sell it here, or get Ships here to Reload it again for *Dantzick*; and seeing you are a Stranger, adds he, I will get you some assistance.

A L L this while he had not ask'd him his Name; but now he said to him, Will you not let me know, Sir, who it is that I am thus much oblig'd to?

F I R S T, returns he, let me see and get you some help, that you may go cheerfully about your Business, and we'll talk of that afterwards; so he bad him walk a little there, and he would come to him again.

H E had not walked long but he sees a Messenger coming to him, to tell him, that there was an *English* Gentleman desir'd to speak with him at such a House, and that he was to guide him to the place.

A C C O R D I N G L Y he follows the Messenger, who brings him to a Publick House where were Three Gentlemen sitting in a Room, and the Man he had conversed with made a fourth, who call'd him in, and bad him sit down, which he did. [sig.E8^d]

T H E Three Gentlemen saluted him very kindly, and one of them also in *English*, and told him they had receiv'd

an Account of his Circumstances from that Gentleman, and that they sent for him to comfort and assist him.

T H I S was a kind and agreeable Surprize to him, and he could not but receive it with all Civility and Acknowledgement possible. After which they ask'd him to Sup with them, which he accepted of, and at Supper hearing the whole Case, they sent for a Merchant of that City to come to them.

W H E N the Merchant was come they recommended the Stranger's Affair to him; and he, the Merchant, was so assistant to the Stranger that he bought all of his Cargo of Fish, or procur'd others to buy it, giving him a Price to his Satisfaction, and gave him as much Money there as he requir'd, and good Bills payable at *Dantzick* for the rest.

I N the mean time, (for this was transacting several Days) the Three Gentlemen continued exceeding courteous and obliging to him; and after many other Civilities, they being travelling into *Poland*, invited the Traveller to go with them as far as *Dantzick*, which they knew he was bound for, and that they would subsist him at their own Charge so far. The Traveller considering his own Condition, and that the Ship he came in was not in Condition to pursue the Voyage, resolv'd to accept of the Offer, and accordingly prepar'd to go with them: But he was extremely concern'd that he could not see this kind

Stranger who had first saluted him as above, and who had brought him to the Gentlemen that were now so extraordinary civil to him; he enquir'd after him of the Messenger that fetch'd him to that House, but he knew him not; he ask'd the People of the House, but they could give no Account of him; he ask'd the three [sig.E8^b] Gentlemen about him, but they knew nothing of him; the *English* Gentleman among them said, he thought he belong'd to that Gentleman, pointing to another of the three who was a *German*; the *German* answer'd that he understood he was the third Gentleman's Friend, who was a *Swede*, that is a *Pomeranian*, for *Pomeren* is under the Dominion of the *Swedes*. But the *Swede* said he thought he was the *English* Gentleman's Brother, for he spoke *English* very well; in a word, no body knew him, and he saw him no more.

I N a Week more or thereabout the four Gentlemen (for now there were so many) set out together, with every one a Servant; except our Traveller, who had none. Every one that knows the Country from *Stetin*¹⁰ to *Dantzick* and *Poland*, knows that it is a desart and wild Country very thin of Inhabitants, and consequently not full of Towns; with several Woods and Wasts in their Way, very difficult to Travel, and this oblig'd them several times to take up Guides by the Way, so that they made up with their Guides always Eight, sometimes Ten in Company, very well arm'd, and tolerably well mounted.

T H E third Day after they were past the *Oder*¹¹, and began to come out of the Part of *Pomeran* which lies East of *Stetin*, and is call'd the *Ducal Pomeran*, they observ'd a Man mean in Apparel, but appearing something more than meerly what Poverty represents, travelling the same Way as they did, but always keeping at about the distance of half a Mile from them on their left Hand.

H E travelled on Foot, but kept full pace with them, and often was some way before them; whether he was in a Track or Road, as they were, they could not tell, but he kept such an equal Distance as if the Road he was in was Parallel with theirs; indeed sometimes they lost sight of him for a while; [sig.F1^a] yet they were sure to find him again at some little distance, either before them or behind them; and this continued three Days before they took any extraordinary notice of him.

B U T the third Day they were a little more curious about him, and one of them (with a Servant attending) rode from the Company, intending to speak with him; but as soon as he saw them come toward him, the Stranger fled farther to the Left from them; still however keeping on his Way forward, but plainly shunning being spoken with; so the Gentleman and his Servant came back again, having made no Discovery; except this, that the Stranger kept no Path or Track, that there was no Road or Way in the Place where he marcht, but that he only kept at such a certain

distance from them; from whence they concluded that he was only some poor Man that was travelling over that wild Country, and having gotten Intelligence of their Journey kept pace with them, to guide him the Way: But two Things amused them strangely that Third Day of their Travel.

1. T H E Y observed that Riding over a large Plain, where there were some few scattering Houses which lay on the other side of the Road South, (for he kept all along (before) on the North side of them) I say, passing over this Plain, the Traveller keeping a little behind them cross'd the Road, and going up to one of the said scatter'd Houses, knock'd at the Door and went in.

U P O N this they resolv'd if possible to get some knowledge of him; so they rode all up to another of those Houses: Here calling to the Inhabitants, tho' it was no Inn or House of Entertainment, but a Poor Husbandman's Cottage, they got Leave to refresh themselves, having Provisions and Wine of their own, and giving the good Wife a [sig.F1^b] small Bottle of about half a Pint of Brandy at parting, the People were abundantly satisfied.

H E R E talking of the Traveller, and at what House he call'd in the Village, (for tho' the Houses stood strangely over the waste, yet as there were near twenty of them in all it was call'd a Town) here, I say, talking of the Traveller and of his knocking at the Door of one of the Houses, the Woman of the House understanding their

Language, hastily ask'd, What, says she, have you seen the *Owke Mouraski*? Who she meant, they did not know; but describing the Person to her, and she also to them, they began to come to an Understanding. Did he not keep Pace with you, says she, on the North side of the Road all the Way? Yes, said they.

A Y, says she, and had you offer'd to ride towards him, you would always have found him as far off as first.

T H A T amused them. Why, what is he? says one of the *Gentlemen*.

N A Y we know not, says she, nor desire to know.

W H Y so? says he.

B E C A U S E, says she, he brings no good luck; pray at what House do ye say he knockt at the Door?

T H E Y describ'd the House, at which the Woman and all her Children fell a crying, and making great sign of Sorrow.

W H A T ' S the Matter, says the *Gentleman*, what are you disturb'd at?

O, says the good Woman, that *Owke Mouraski* never calls at any House in the Town, but some or other of the Family dies that Year.

B Y this it seem'd that he came often that Way, so he ask'd the Woman how often he was used to be seen thereabouts. [sig.F2^a]

S H E answered, Not often, perhaps once or twice a Year; and *says she*, sometimes he passes by and calls or knocks at no House in his Way, and then, *adds she*, we are glad to see him.

W H Y, *says the Gentleman*, what do you take him to be the Devil?

N O, no, *says she*, not the Devil, no, he is a very good Man.

B U T why are you so afraid of him then? *says he*.

B E C A U S E, *says she*, he knows more than all the Men in the World; he knows if any one is to die, and then he knocks at the House to tell them to be ready.

N. B. *Here the Woman enquired more exactly about the House where the Traveller called, and the Gentleman going to the Door pointed it out to her, at which she left off crying, and then rejoyc'd as much as she had lamented before; for it seems she had mistaken it for another House which stood near it, and where her own Father and Mother lived.*

T H E N he asked her what Countryman the Traveller was.

S H E said, they did not know that, for no Body ever spoke to him, they were afraid.

W H Y, *says he*, when he knocks at the Door don't ye speak to him?

N O, *says she*, nor does he speak a word; but just as he goes away he will sometimes say ----- repeating a word

which I do not remember, but signifies *be comforted*; and then they are sure the Person shall be sick only, but shall not die.

B U T, says *he*, do they entertain him, or give him any thing?

Y E S, says *she*, they set Bread before him, and he takes a small Piece in his Hand; but no Body can say they ever saw him Eat.

B U T what do you take him to be then? says *he*.
[sig.F2^b]

A G O O D Angel, says the Woman; adding another hard Word of their own, signifying that he did no Hurt to any body; and, says *she*, to some Families he is a Messenger of Good. All this gave them Amusement, but no particular Satisfaction, and rather prompted their Curiosity to make farther Enquiry about him. After about an Hour's refreshing themselves at this poor Cottage, they proceeded on their Journey, and having rode about two Miles, they saw their old Object again on the left or north side of the Road, as before, and he kept in their sight in the same manner all the rest of the Day.

T H E R E was a Town, I think 'tis call'd *Kintzigen*¹², or some such like Name, at a few Miles distance, and where their Guide told them they should lodge, and before they came to the Town there was a River, not a great or very wide River, but too large to ride thro' it, and at

the Town there is a very good stone Bridge¹³; built, as they were told, by the Ancestors of the Kings of *Prussia*, that is, as I suppose, the old Dukes of *Pomerania*¹⁴.

A C C O R D I N G L Y they pass'd this Bridge, and then went into the Town. It was most natural to them to observe what Course the Traveller would take to pass the River, who as he went on must necessarily come to the Bank, as near a Mile distance from the Town, so they halted a little, one of them alighting from his Horse, as if something had required their stay, that the Traveller might go on before them, which he did.

O B S E R V I N G him as narrowly as possible, they follow'd him (with their Eyes) down to the very Edge of the River, nor did he stop or take notice of them, tho' they saw him plainly down to the very Bank; but here not being able to keep him exactly in their sight every Moment, they immediately saw him going up the rising Grounds, on the other side, [sig.F3^d] without being capable of giving the least account how he pass'd the Water.

T H I S was the other Passage, which, I say, amused them very much.

A S soon as they came into the Town where they were to lodge, their Guide looking beyond the House where they stop'd, called to them, Look yonder, says he, is the Traveller sitting at the Door of such and Inn or House,

pointing to the Place; and there they saw him plain at the Door eating a piece of Bread, and having a Pot or Jug of *Polish* Beer standing by him. One of the Gentlemen (resolving, if possible, to speak with him) walk'd up in his Boots to the Place, seeing him sitting all the while he was going, 'till coming very near, and happening to turn his Eyes one Moment from him, when he look'd again, the Man was gone.

H E ask'd the People of the House about him, but they knew nothing of him, only that as they said there was such a Man, but he was gone, and they neither knew who he was, or whither he was gone.

T H E N he ask'd them if they did not know the *Owke Mouraski*; they said Yes, they had heard of but they did not know him.

W H Y, says *the Gentleman*, don't you know that this was he that sat upon the Bench?

N O, they said, that could not be he, that was a poor Countryman, a Traveller.

T H E Gentleman assured them that was he; at which they seemed very much concerned, but seemed very willing not to believe him.

W H Y, says *he*, are you afraid of him?

N O, says *they*, but we don't like his coming to us, for, they say, he brings no good to the Family where he comes.

B U T this Discourse ended, and the Gentleman gain'd no Information there. [sig.F3^b]

T H E next Day they had his Company again, as before; and passing by a single House upon the Road, near a Village, but standing quite out of the Road, they observ'd the Traveller to stop at that House, and go in.

B Y this time their Curiosity was very much heighten'd, and they began to be something uneasy about him; it was not very pleasant, they thought, to have the Devil so near them, and they could think him to be nothing less; so they all turn'd back, and resolv'd to go to the House, and if he was there to speak with him, if possible; and if not, to inform themselves as much as they could about him.

W H E N they came within about a quarter of a Mile of the House, they saw the Traveller on the other side, having gone out at the back Door, and travelling forward as unconcern'd, and taking no notice of them, just as before.

T H I S surprized them; however they went up to the House, and enquired about him, as they did before: but here they receiv'd quite a differing Account of him; here the People bless'd him, called him by the same Name, but took him for their good Angel, (as they call'd him,) that he always brought them good Tidings, that they were sure

it would fare well with them after he had been with them; and a great deal more.

B U T to bring this Story to a conclusion, so far as it serves the present Occasion: This Spectre, or Apparition, for so I must call it, attended them 'till they came within two Leagues of *Dantzick*, where the Gentlemen separated, after a Day or two staying in the City; the three Gentlemen going from thence to *Marienburg*¹⁵ in *Polish Prussia*¹⁶, and our Traveller was left in *Dantzick*.

W H I L E he was here a Man made acquaintance with him who was bound to *Koningsberg*¹⁷, and our Traveller being resolv'd to go for *Petersburg*¹⁸, was [sig.F4^d] glad to have this new Acquaintance, which he had, as we may say, pick'd up, to go with him; so they embark'd together in a small *Hoy*¹⁹, upon the Sea or Lake call'd the *Frischaff*²⁰, which carry'd them to *Koningsburg*. He gives a strange tho' diverting Account of his Conversation with this Man, who told him so many Stories of several kinds, that it amaz'd him; and he look'd as if he knew all the World, and all the People in it, and all things that had happened in it, or would happen in it for ever to come, and something longer.

H O W E V E R, as the *Frischaff* is not above three or four Days sail, and they were quickly at *Koningsburg*, the Conversation was soon over, and this new Acquaintance ended; but the Traveller continuing his Journey, enquired

in the City if there were any Passengers or Gentlemen travelling towards *Riga*²¹, either by Land or Sea; and being directed to a House where Strangers used to resort, he found there several People bound for *Riga*, some Merchants, some Country-People, some Seafaring-People, but most enclin'd to go by Sea, there being Vessels always ready at the *Pillau*²², which is a Town at the Mouth of the *Haff*²³, ready to sail for *Riga*, if Goods or Passengers presented.

B U T among them all there was an ancient Man, habited like a *Russ*²⁴, or rather like a *Greek Priest*, with a long venerable Beard, a purple Robe or long Garment²⁵, such as the *Russians* wear, a high stiff-crown'd Furr-cap, and a close Vest about his Body, girded with a Silk Sash; and he declar'd himself for *Riga*; but that being an old Man, he would not go by Sea, but that he had two Horses in the City besides his own, having brought two Servants with him from *Grodno*²⁶ in *Lithuania*, but one of them had left him; so he offer'd the Traveller to lend him one of his Horses for his Company, if he would [sig.F4^b] travel with him to *Mittau*²⁷ in *Courland*²⁸, and thence to *Riga*.

I T would take up too much Room here, to give a full Account of the Travels of this wandring Person, and how in almost every Place he found a new Shape ready to thrust into his Company, and that for four Years intimate Ramble; but that at last, being in *Turkey*, his latest

Companion discover'd to him that he was an Inhabitant of an invisible Region, that he had been in his Company in all his Journey in all the differing Figures that he had met with, and that in a Word he was the same Person that embark'd with him in *Ireland*, landed with him in *Norway*, left him at *Gottenburg*, found him at *Straelsund*, dogged him upon the way at *Dantzick*, sailed with him to *Koningsberg*, lent him a Horse to go to *Riga*, and so on; and he had only put on so many Shapes and Appearances, that he might not be uneasy with him, and tired of his Company.

H O W they went on together after that, and the Conversation that pass'd between them after the Discovery; how familiar Friends they were for some Months after, and what Reasons he gave why he would never believe that it was a Devil, but a good and kind Spirit sent to take Care of him, and assist him in his Travels; all that, as foreign to my present Purpose, I omit. Perhaps the Story may see the World by itself, and well worth reading it will be, if it does. But of that by the by.

A S I do not here enter into the Authority of the Story, (tho', as I said, I have seen it in Manuscript many Years ago) so I have no more to say from it than this, that if such good Spirits are conversant with Mankind, and resident in the invisible Spaces, we know

not where; if we have reason to believe they are not Angels, and yet really by their Actions cannot be Devils; then it follows that there are a [sig.F5^d] certain middle Species of Spirits in Being; let them be what they will, let them be employ'd, directed, limited and restrain'd, how and in what manner he pleases who is their Maker, and who ought to be their Guide and Director; that's not the matter, nor can it be enquired into here; the Question before us is only whether such there are, or no?

N O W if it be granted that there are such, and that brings it down to the present Case, if there are such, then all Apparitions are not Devils; no, nor are they walking disturbed Souls of Men lately embodied and departed: a Notion empty and not to be defended; incongruous, and inconsistent either with Scripture, the Christian Religion, or Reason, and founded only in the bewildred Imaginations and Dreams of ignorant People, who neither know how or by what Rules to judge of such Things, or are capable of right Conceptions about them; who do not give themselves time to exercise that little Power of thinking that they are Masters of, and so are left to the Darkness of their own Fancies, thinking every thing they see is a Devil, meerly because they know not what else to make of it, what other Name to give it, or that it can be possible any thing but Devils or Angels can come of such Errands.

B Y this Mistake they give the Devil the Honour of many an Action, which he is too much a Devil to have any hand in; ascribe Works of Charity and Benevolence to him; make him move injurious and knavish Men to do Justice, Thieves to make Restitution, cruel and inhuman Wretches to be merciful, Cheats to turn honest, Robbers to desist, and Sinners to repent.

S T O R Y tells us, that *Hind*²⁹ that famous out-law'd Robber, the most famous since *Robin Hood*, met a Spectre upon the Road, in a Place called *Stangate-Hole*³⁰, in *Huntingtonshire*³¹, where he used to commit [sig.F5^b] his Robberies; and famous for many a Highway Robbery since that.

T H E Spectre appeared in the Habit of a plain Country Grazier; and as the Devil, you may suppose, knew very well the Haunts and Retreats that this *Hind* used to frequent; he comes into the Inn, and taking up his Quarters, puts up his Horse, and makes the Hostler carry up his Portmanteau³², which was very heavy, into this Chamber; when he was in the Chamber he opens his Pack, takes out his Money, which seemed to be in several small Parcels, and puts it together into no more than two Bags, that it might make an equal weight to each side of his Horse, and make as much show of it as possible.

H O U S E S that entertain Rogues are seldom without Spies to give them due Intelligence; *Hind* gets Notice of

the Money, sees the Man, sees the Horse, that he may know him again; finds out which Way the Countryman travels, meets him at *Stangate-Hole*, just in the bottom between the two Hills, and stops him, telling him he must deliver his Money.

W H E N he name'd the Money the Grazier feigns himself surprized, puts on the Pannick, trembles, and is frighted, and with a pitiful Tone says, *I am* (as you see) *but a poor Man; indeed, Sir, I have no Money;* [there the Devil shew'd him that he could speak Truth when it serv'd his Occasion.] O you *old Dog*, says he, have you no Money? Come, open up your Cloak-bag, and give me the two Bags, one on one side your Saddle, and one on t'other: what, have you no Money, and yet your Bags were too heavy to lie on one side? Come, come, deliver, or I'll cut you to Pieces this Moment. (There he was out too, and threatened more than he cou'd do.) Well, the poor Devil whines and cries, and tells him he must be mistaken, he took him for another Man sure, for indeed he had no Money. [sig.F6^d]

C O M E, come, says *Hind*, come along with me; and so he takes his Horse by the Bridle and leads him out of the Road into the Woods, which are very thick there on both sides, and the business was too long to stand there in the open Road all the while to do it.

W H E N he had gotten into the Woods, Come, Mr. Grazier, says he, dismount, and give me the two Bags this Minute. In short he dismounts the poor Man, cuts his Bridle and his Girts, and opens his Cloak-bag, where he finds the two Bags. *Very well*, says *Hind*, here they are, and heavy as before; so he throws them on the Ground, cuts them open, in one he finds a *Halter*³³, and in the other a piece of solid Brass in the exact shape of a *Gibbet*³⁴, and the Countryman behind him call'd to him, *There's your Fate, H I N D, take care.*

I F he was surprized by what he found in the Bags, (for there was not a Farthing of Money but in the Bag where the Halter was, of which presently,) I say, if he was surprized at what he found in the Bags, he was more so at the hearing the Countryman call him by his Name, and turn'd about to kill him, because he thought he was known; but he had no Life nor Soul left in him, when turning about, as I say, to kill the Fellow, he saw nothing but the poor Horse. He sunk down to the Earth, and lay there a considerable time; how long, that (being alone) he could not tell, but it must be some Minutes. At last coming to himself he goes away terrified to the last degree, and ashamed, and wondring what it should be.

I H I N T E D that there was no Money but one Piece found, which the Story says was *Scots*, a Piece call'd in *Scotland a Fourteen*, in *English, a Thirteen Pence Half-*

Penny, to pay the Hangman with; from whence it may be suppos'd that Saying is used to this [sig.F6^b] Day, that *Thirteen Pence Half-Penny is Hangman's Wages*.

N O W tho' the Story has some Mirth in it, and may with the many Stories of that Robber be laid as Romances, yet it is thus far to my Purpose; That this was a Spirit, that must be acknowledg'd. A good Angel from Heaven wou'd hardly have been sent to give him such an ineffectual insignificant Hint, which had no sufficient Effect, whatever it might have just then to surprize him, for he rob'd continually after that, and was hang'd at last for it.

T H E *Devil*, as before, cannot rationally be suspected in the Case; for why should the *Devil* both bauk him, threaten and caution him? threaten him with hanging him, fright him with the Gibbet and Halter, and caution him to take care. This was not for the *Devil's* Purpose, it was more for his Interest to have him go on, though he came to the Gallows at last.

I F then it was neither *good* Angel or *Bad*, what must it be, and how must we judge of it? what Name must we give him, and who was this Country Grazier?

T O come off of this, some will have it be, that it is the *Devil* under Constraint, the *Devil* in Commission, that he is sent on such Errands by a superior Power that has him at Command; and that when he is directed to do so and

so, he must obey, he dare do no otherwise. This is begging the Question in the grossest manner imaginable. Besides, why the *Devil* sent of such Errands?

1. I T *is not probable*, it is not to be gather'd from the ordinary Course of Providence. The *Devil* indeed was permitted, or, if you will have it, he was commission'd to strip and afflict Poor *Job*; and he was again permitted to enter into the Herd of Swine; but this does not amount to a Paralel: In [sig.F7^a] both those Examples he was only employ'd as an Instrument, and, as we may express it, in his ordinary Business, in the way of his Calling, that is to say in doing Mischief: But here he is suppos'd employ'd in doing Good, cautioning a harden'd Rogue to leave off his wicked Course, and escape the Gallows. Now this is quite out of *Satan's* road of Business; 'tis also out of the ordinary course of Heaven's Conduct, for when do we find God employing the *Devil* in any good Work? I do not remember one clear Example of it, in all the sacred History.

2. I T would argue that Heaven should want Instruments, which is not at all just to infer; will they pretend, that, for want of more proper Agents, God should employ the *Devil* to save a High-way Man from the Gallows? and, which is more than all the rest, should not bring it to pass neither? But if you will allow that this was one of the Imaginary species of Spirits, who, willing to save a

poor Wretch that was running head-long to the *Devil*, took all these Measures to alarm him, and bring him to just Reflections, but was not able to reclaim him, was not admitted to give him Notice, when he was about the fatal Act he was surpriz'd in, or to warn him when the Officers came to apprehend him, this seems rational.

I F the *Devil* should be suppos'd to be employ'd in such a Work as this was, and so contrary to his Inclination, either he would perform it like himself, treacherous and unfaithful, or at best, reluctant and unwilling. Perhaps you will say he durst not perform it treacherously and unfaithfully; and it may be not: But why must it be suppos'd Heaven should employ his worst and wickedest Creature, whom he had long since disbanded, and cast out of his Service, rejecting him as unworthy to be employ'd; and who, if he was employ'd, and durst [sig.F7^b] not decline the Work, yet, it must be acknowledg'd, would obey with the utmost Aversion and Unwillingness; when at the same time Millions of faithful Agents, willing and chearfully-obedient Servants, are ready at command to execute his Will with the utmost Vigour and Fidelity?

B U T to leave arguing upon Inscrutables, let us come to Narration of Facts.

I H A V E another Account received from a particular Acquaintance in a neighboring Nation³⁵. I could name the Persons and Places in a more exact manner to these

Accounts; but some Reasons of State forbid us at this time to enter into the Circumstances of Families. For where Matters of Apparition and Witchcraft are the Substance of the History, it has never been found reasonable to name Houses and Families; and as this Apology will be allow'd to be just, I expect it will be accepted by the Reader in all Examples I shall give of this kind.

A C E R T A I N Person of Quality, being with his Family at his Country-Seat for the Summer-Season, according to his ordinary Custom, was oblig'd upon a particular Occasion of Health to leave his said Seat, and go to *Aix La Chappelle*³⁶, to use the Baths there: This was as it seems in the Month of *August*, being two Months sooner than the usual time of his returning to Court for the Winter.

U P O N thus removing sooner than ordinary, he did not then disfurnish the House, as was the ordinary Usage of the Family, or carry away his Plate and other valuable Goods, but left his Steward and three Servants to look after the House and the *Padre* or *Parish Priest* was desired to keep his Eye upon them too, and to succour them from the Village adjoining, if there was Occasion.

T H E Steward had no publick Notice of any Harm approaching; but for three or four Days suc- [sig.F8^d] cessively he had secret strange Impulses of Dread and

Terror upon his Mind that the House was beset, and was to be assaulted by a Troop of Banditti, or as we call them here, *House-breakers*, who would murther them all, and after they had robb'd the House, would set it on Fire; and this follow'd him so fast, and made such Impression upon his Mind, that he could think of nothing else.

U P O N this the third Day he went to the *Padre*, or *Parish Priest*, and made his Compliant; upon which the Priest and the Steward had this following Discourse, the Steward beginning thus:

F A T H E R, said he, you know what a Charge I have in my Custody, and how my Lord has instructed me with the whole House, and all the rich Furniture is standing; I am in great Perplexity about it, and come to you for your Advice.

Pa. W H Y, what's the Matter? you have not heard of any Mischief threatened, have you?

St. N O, I have heard nothing; but I have such Apprehensions, and it has made such Impression upon me for these three Days, that *--

* *Here he told him the particulars of the Uneasiness he had been in, and added, besides what is said above, that one of the Servants had the same, and had told him of it, tho' he had communicated nothing to that Servant in the least.*

Pa. I T may be, you dream'd of these things?

St. N O indeed, *Padre*, I am sure I could not dream of them, for I could never sleep.

Pa. W H A T can I do for you? What would you have me do?

St. I W O U L D have you first of all tell me what you think of these things, and whether there is any Notice to be taken of them * -----

** Here the Padre examin'd him more strictly about the Particulars, and sent for the Servant and examin'd him apart; and being a very judicious honest Man, he answer'd him thus: [sig.F8^b]*

Pa. L O O K you, Mr. Steward, I do not lay a very great Stress upon such things, but yet I don't think they are to be wholly slighted; and therefore I would have you be upon your Guard, and if you have the least Alarm let me know.

St. T H A T is poor Satisfaction to me to be upon my Guard, if I am over-power'd. I suppose, if any Villains have a Design to attack me, they know my Strength.

Pa. S H A L L I reinforce your Garrison?

St. I W I S H you would.

Pa. W E L L, I'll send you some Men with Fire-Arms, to lye there this Night.

A C C O R D I N G L Y the Priest sent him five stout Fellows with Fuzees³⁷, and a dozen Hand-Granadoes with them, and while they continu'd in the House nothing

appear'd; but the *Padre* finding nothing come of it, and being loth to put his Patron to so continued a Charge, sent for the Steward, and in a chiding angry Tone, told him his Mind.

Pa. I K N O W not how you will answer it to my Lord, but you have put him to a prodigious Expence here, in keeping a Garrison in the House all this while.

St. I A M sorry for it, *Padre*; but what can I do?

Pa. D O ! Why, compose your Mind, and keep up your Heart, and don't let my Lord spend two or three hundred *Livres* here, to cure you of the Vapours.

St. W H Y, you said your self, *Padre*, that it was not to be wholly slighted?

Pa. T H A T'S true; but I said also, I would not lay too great a Stress upon it.

St. W H A T must I do then?

Pa. D O ! Why, dismiss the Men again, and take what Care you can; and if you have any Notice of Mischief that may be depended upon, let me have Notice too, and I'll assist you. [sig.G1^d]

St. W E L L then, the good Angel must protect my Lord's House, I see, for no body else will.

Amen, says the *Padre*, I trust the good Spirits will keep you all: So he bless'd the Steward, (in his way) and the Steward went away grumbling very much that he took away his Garrison, and left him to the good Spirits.

I T seems, for all this, that the Steward's Notices, however secret, and from he knew not who, were not of so light an Import as the *Padre* thought they were; for as he had this Impulse upon his Mind that such Mischief was brewing, so it really was, as you will see presently.

A S E T of Robbers, who had Intelligence that the Nobleman with his Family was gone to *Aix La Chapelle*, but that the House was left furnish'd, and all the Plate and the things of Value were left in it, had form'd a Design to plunder the House, and afterwards to burn it, just as the Steward had said.

T H E Y were two and twenty strong in the whole, and thoroughly arm'd for Mischief. Yet while the additional Force, which the *Padre* had place'd to reinforce the Steward, were in the House, of whom, including the other four, three sat up every Night, they did not dare to attempt it.

B U T as soon as they heard the Guard was dismiss'd, they form'd their Design anew, and, to make the Story short, they attack'd the House about Midnight. Having, I suppose, proper Instruments about them, they soon broke open a Window, and twelve of them got into the House, the rest standing Centinel at such Place as they thought proper, to prevent any Succours from the Town.

T H E poor Steward and his three Men were in great Distress; they were indeed above Stairs, and had

barricadoed the Stair-Cases as well as they [sig.G1^b] could, hearing the Fellows were breaking in; but when they found they were got in, they expected nothing but to be kept above Stairs 'till the House was plunder'd, and then to be burnt alive.

B U T it seems the good Spirits the Priest spoke of, or some body else, made better Provision for them, as you will see presently.

W H E N the first of the Fellows were gotten into the House, and had open'd the Door, and let in as many of their Gang as they thought fit, which (as above) was twelve in Number they shut the Door again, and shut themselves in; leaving two without the Door, who had a Watch-word, to go and call more Help if they wanted it.

T H E twelve ranging over the great Hall, found little there to gratify their greedy Hopes; but breaking next into a fine well-furnish'd Parlour, where the Family usually sat, Behold, in a great easy Chair, sat a grave ancient Man, with a long full-bottom'd black Wig, a rich brocaded Gown, and a Lawyer's lac'd Band, but looking as if in great Surprise, seem'd to make Signs to them for Mercy, but said not a Word, nor they much to him, except that one of them starting, cry'd, *H A! who's here?*

I M M E D I A T E L Y the Rouges fell to pulling down the fine Damask Curtains in the Windows, and other rich Things; but One said to Another with an Oath, Make the

old Dog tell us where the Plate is hid; and another said, *if he won't tell you, cut his Throat immediately.*

T H E ancient Gentleman, with Signs of Entreaty, as if begging for his Life, and in a great Fright, points to a Door; which being open'd would let them into another Parlour, which was the Gaming-Room, and serv'd as a Drawing-Room to the first Parlour; and by another Door open'd into the great *Salon*, which look'd into the Gardens. [sig.G2^d] They were some time forcing their way into that Room; but when they came in, they were surpriz'd to see the same old Man, in the same Dress, and the same Chair, sitting at the upper end of the Room, making the same Gestures, and silent Entreaties, as before.

T H E Y were not so much concern'd at first, but they thought he had come in by another Door, and began to swear at him, for putting them to the Trouble of breaking open the Door, when there was another way into the Room. But, another wickeder than the first, said, with a heavy Curse, *the old Dog was got in by another Door*, on purpose to convey away the Plate and Money, and bad knock his brains out. Upon which the first swore at him, that if he did not immediately show them where it was, he was a dead Dog that Moment.

U P O N this furious Usage, he points to the Doors which open into the *Salon*, which being a thin Pair or

Folding-Doors open'd presently, and in they run into the great *Salon*; when looking at the farther end of the Room, there sat the ancient Man again, in the same Dress and Posture as before.

U P O N this Sight, those that were foremost among them cry'd out aloud, Why, this old Fellow deals with the *Devil* sure, he's here afore us again.

B U T the Case differ'd a little now; for when they came out of the first Parlour, being eager for the Plate and Money, and willing to find it A L L, the whole Body of them run out into the second Parlour; but now the ancient Man pointing to the third Room, they did not all immediately rush out into the *Salon*, but four of them were left behind in the Parlour or Gaming-Room mention'd just now, not by order or design, but accidentally.
[sig.G2^b]

B Y this Means they fell into the following Confusion; for while some of them call'd out from the *Salon*, that the *old Rogue was there before them again*; others answer'd out of the Parlour, How the *Devil* can that be? why, he is here still in this Chair, and all his Rubbish: with that, two of them run back into the first Parlour, and there they saw him again sitting as before. Notwithstanding all this, far from guessing what the Occasion should be, they fancied they were gamed, or suggested that they were but jested with, and that there

were three several old Men dress'd up in the same Habits for the same Occasion, and to mock them, as if to let them know that the Men above in the House were not afraid of them.

W E L L, *says one of the Gang*, I'll dispatch one of the old Rogues, I'll teach one of them how to make Game at us: upon which, raising his Fuzee as high as his Arm would let him, he struck at the ancient Man, as he thought it was, with all his Force; but behold! there was nothing in the Chair, and his Fuzee flew into a thousand Pieces, wounding his Hand most grievously, and a Piece of the Barrel striking him on the Head, broke his Face, and knock'd him down backward.

A T the same time, one of those in the *Salon* running at the ancient Man that sat there, swore he would tear his fine brocade Gown off, and then he would cut his Throat: but when he went to take hold of him, there was nothing in the Chair.

T H I S happening in both Rooms, they were all in most horrible Confusion, and cry'd out in both Rooms at the same Moment, in a terrible manner.

A S they were in the utmost Amazement at the thing, so after the first Clamour they stood looking upon one another for some time, without speaking a Word more; but at length one said, Let's go back into the first Parlour and see if that's gone [sig.G3^d] too; and with that Word,

two or three that were on that side, run into the Room, and there sat the ancient Figure as at first; upon which they called to the Company, and told them, they believed they were all bewitch'd, and 'twas certain they only fancy'd they saw a Man in the other Rooms, for there was the real old Man sitting where he was at first.

U P O N this they all run thither, saying, they would see whether it was the *Devil* or no; and one of them said, Let me come; I'll speak to him; 'tis not the first time I have talk'd with the *Devil*.

N A Y, *says another*, so will I; and then added with an Oath, Gentlemen that were upon such Business as they were, ought not to be afraid to speak to the *Devil*.

A T H I R D (for now their Courage began to rise again) *calls aloud*, Let it be the *Devil*, or the *Devil's* Grandmother, I'll parley with it, I am resolv'd I'll know what it is: and with that he runs forward before the rest, and crossing himself, says to the ancient Man in the Chair, *in the Name of St. Francis, and St.-----* (and so reckon'd up two or three Saints Names that he depended were enough to fright the *Devil*) *what art thou?*

T H E Figure never mov'd or spoke; but looking at its Face, they presently found, that instead of his pitiful Looks, and seeming to beg for his Life, as he did before, he was chang'd into the most horrible Monster that ever was seen, and such as I cannot describe; and that instead

of his Hands held up to them to cry for Mercy, there were two large fiery Daggers, not flaming, but red hot, and pointed with a livid bluish Flame, and in a word, the *Devil* or something else, in the most frightful Shape that can be imagin'd. And it was my Opinion, when I first read the Story, the Rogues were so frightened, that their Imagination afterwards form'd a thing in their Thoughts more terrible than the *Devil* himself could appear in.
[sig.G3^b]

B U T be that as it will, his Figure was such, that when they came up to him, not a Man of them had Courage to look in his Face, much less talk to him; and he that was so bold, and thus came arm'd with half a Regiment of Saints in his Mouth, fell down flat on the Ground, having fainted away (as they call it) with the Fright.

T H E Steward and his three Men were all this while above stairs, in the utmost Concern at the Danger they were in, and expecting every Moment the Rouges would strive to force their Way up, and cut Throats; They heard the confus'd Noise that the Fellows made below, but cou'd not imagine what it was, and much less the Meaning of it: but while it lasted it came into the Mind of one of the Servants, that as it was certain the Fellows were all in the Parlour, and very busy there, whatever it was about, he might go up to the Top of the House and throw one of

their Hand-Granadoes down the Chimney, and perhaps it might do some Execution among them.

T H E Steward approved of this Design, only with this Addition; if we throw down but into one Parlour, they will all fly into the Gaming-room, and so it will do no Execution; but, says he, take three, and put down one into each Chimney, for the Funnels go up all together, and then they will not know which Way to run.

W I T H these Orders two of the Men, who very well knew the Place, went up, and firing the Fuzees of the Granadoes, they put one Shell into each of the Funnels, and down they went roaring in the Chimney with a terrible Noise, and (which was more than all the rest) they came down into the Parlour where almost all of the Rogues were, just at the Moment that the Fellow that spoke to the Spectre was frightened into a swooning Fit, and fallen on the Floor.

[sig.G4^a]

T H E whole Gang was frightened beyond Expression; some run back into the gaming Parlour whence they came, and some run to the other Door which they came in at from the Hall; but all, at the same Instant, heard the *Devil*, as they thought it was, coming down the Chimney.

H A D it been possible that the Fuzees of the Granadoes could have continued burning in the Funnel of the Chimnies, where the Sound was a thousand times doubled by

the hollow of the Place, and where the Soot burning fell down in Flakes of Fire, the Rogues had been frightened out of their Understandings; imagining, that as they had one dreadful *Devil* just among them in the Chair, so there were ten thousand more coming down the Chimney to destroy them all; and perhaps to carry them all away.

B U T that could not be; so after they had been sufficiently scared with the Noise, down came the Shells into the Rooms, all three together: It happen'd as luckily as if it had been contriv'd on purpose, that the Shell which came down into the Parlour where they all were, burst as soon as it ever came to the Bottom, so that it did not give them time so much as to think what it might be, much less to know that it really was a Hand-Granadoe; but as it did great Execution among them, so they as certainly believ'd it was the *Devil*, as they believed the Spectre in the Chair was the *Devil*.

T H E Noise of the bursting of the Shell was so sudden and so unexpected, that it confounded them, and the Mischief was also terrible; the Man that fainted and who lay on the Ground was killed out-right, and two more that stood just before the Chimney; five of them were desperately wounded, whereof one had both his Legs broke, and was so desperate, that when the People from the Country [sig.G4^b] came in, he shot himself thro' the Head with his own Pistol, to prevent his being taken.

H A D the rest of them fled out of the Parlour into the two other Rooms, 'tis probable they had been wounded by the other Shells; but as they heard the Noise in both the outer Rooms, and besides were under the Surprize of its being not a Hand-Granado, but the *Devil*, they had not Power to stir; nor, if they had, could they know which way to go to be safe: so they stood stock still 'til both the Shells in the other Rooms burst also; at which being confounded, as well with the Noise as with the Smoke, and expecting more *Devils* down the Chimney where they stood, they run out all that Way, and made to the Door, helping their wounded Men along as well as they could; whereof one died in the Fields after they were got away.

I T must be observ'd, when they were thus alarmed with they knew not, what coming down the Chimney, they cryed out, that the *Devil* in the Chair had sent for more *Devils* to destroy them; and 'twas suppos'd that had the Shells never come down they would all have run away. But certain it was, that the artificial *Devil* joyning so critically as to Time with the visionary *Devils*, or whatever they were, compleated their Disorder, and forced them to fly.

W H E N they came to the Door to the two Men, they made signals for their Comrades, who were posted in the Avenues to the House, to come to their Relief; who accordingly came up, and assisted to carry off their

Wounded Men: but after hearing the Relation of those that had been in the House, and calling a short Council a little way from the Door, (which, tho' dark as it was, the Steward and his Men could perceive from the Window,) they all resolved to make off. [sig.G5^d]

T H E R E was another concurring Accident, which tho' it does not relate to my Subject, I must set down to compleat the Story, viz. That two of these Granadoes by the Fire of their Fuzes set the Chimneys on Fire; the third being in a Funnel that had no Soot in it, the Room having not been so much used, did not. This Fire flaming out at the top, as is usual, was seen by some Body in the Village, who run immediately and allarmed the Priest, or *Padre*, and he again rais'd the whole Town, believing there was some Mischief fallen out, and that the House was set on Fire.

H A D the rest of the Gang not resolv'd to make off, as is said above, they had certainly fallen into the Hands of the Townsmen, who ran immediately with what Arms came next to Hand, to the House. But the Rogues were fled, leaving, as above, three of their Company dead in the House, and one in the Field.

I M U S T confess, I cannot draw many Inferences to my purpose from the Particulars of this Story, which however I have told for your Diversion; but from the General I may; namely, This Apparition was certainly not in favor

of the Robbery; and if all the Particulars are true in Fact as related, we can hardly with Justice place them to Satan's Account. Take him as a Destroyer and a Father of Mischief, he could not be suppos'd to have appear'd to prevent the Robbing the House, or to assist the Steward in the House in defence of his Master's Goods: what Good Spirit this must be, and from whence, is then a remaining Question, and that brings it to my purpose again.

I S H A L L give you another Story out of more Authentick Records, tho' related in a different manner by several People, as their several Interests inclin'd them.
[sig.G5^b]

J A M E S IV. King of *Scotland*³⁸ being perswaded by the Clergy and the Bishops to break with *England*, and declare War against *Henry VIII*, contrary to the Advice of his Nobility and Gentry, who were to bear both the Expence and the Blows of a Battel; I say, the King, thus over-ruled by the Clergy, raises an Army, and prepared to march to the Frontiers; but the Evening before he was to take the Field, as he was at *Vespers* in the Chappel Royal at his Palace of *Lithgo* or *Linlithgow*³⁹, an ancient Man appear'd to his with a long Head of Hair the Colour of Amber, (some Accounts would represent it as a Glory painted round a Head by the Limners⁴⁰) and of a venerable Aspect, having on a rustic Dress, that is to say, in the Country Language, a belted Plaid girded round with a

Linnen Sash. This Man was (as it seems by the Story) perceived by the King before he came close up to him, and before he was seen by any of the People; and the King also perceiv'd him to be earnestly looking at him, and at the Nobel Persons about him, as if desiring to speak to him.

A F T E R some little time he press'd thro' the Crowd, and came close up to the King, and, without any Bow or Reverence made to his Person, told him with a low Voice, but such as the King could here him very distinctly, That he was sent to him to warn him, not to proceed in the War which he had undertaken at the Sollicitation of the Priests, and in Favour of the *French*; and that if he did go on with it he should not prosper. He added also, that he should abstain from his Lewd and Unchristian Practices with wicked Women, for that if he did not, it would issue in his Destruction.

H A V I N G deliver'd his Message he immediately vanish'd; for tho' his pressing up to the King had put the whole Assembly in disorder, and that every one's Eye was fix'd upon him, while he was deli- [sig.G6^a] vering his Message to the King; yet not one could see him any more, or perceive his going back from the King; which put them all in the utmost Consternation.

T H E King himself also was in great Confusion; he would fain have believ'd the Spectre was a Man, and would

have spoken to it again, and would have ask'd some Questions of him. But the People constantly and with one Voice affirm'd that it was an Angel, and that it immediately disappear'd after the Message was deliver'd; that they plainly saw him and felt him thrusting to get by them as he went up, but not one could see him go back.

T H E King upon this was satisfied that 'twas not a real Body, but an Apparition; and it put him into a great Consternation, and caused him to delay his March a-while, and call several Councils of his Nobility to consider what to do.

B U T the King being still over-perswaded by those Engines who were employ'd by Monsieur L A M O T T E⁴¹, the *French Ambassador*; continu'd in his Designs for a War, and advanc'd afterward with his Army to the *Tweed*⁴², which was in those times the usual Boundary of the two Kingdoms.

H E R E the Army rested some time, and the King being at *Jedburgh*⁴³, a known Town in those Parts, as he was sitting drinking Wine very plentifully in a great Hall of the House, where his Head-Quarters was then held, suppos'd to be the old Earl of *Morton's*⁴⁴ House in that Town; the Spectre came to him a second time, tho' not in the Form which it appear'd in at *Lithgo*; but with less regard or respect to the Prince, and in an imperious Tone told him, he was commanded to warn him not to proceed in

that War, which if he did, he should lose not the Battel only, but his Crown and Kingdom: and that after this, without staying for any Answer, like the Hand to King *Ahasuerus*⁴⁵, it went to the Chim- [sig.G6^b] ney, and wrote in the Stone over it, or that which we call the Mantle-piece, the following Distich⁴⁶,

Læta sit illa dies, Nescitur Origo secundi

*Sit labor an requies, sic transit gloria Mundi*⁴⁷.

T H A T the King did not listen to either of these Notices, our Histories, as well as *Buchanan*⁴⁸ the Historian of *Scotland*, take Notice of very publickly; and that he marcht on, fought the *English* at *Flodden-Field*⁴⁹, and there lost his Army, all his former Glory, and his Life, is also recorded; I need say no more of it.

T H E S E two Apparitions were certainly from such Spirits as we are speaking of, viz. such as mean well to Mankind, and being Good and Beneficent in their Nature, would prevent the ruin or destruction of those whom they appear to: But have not always Power to direct the Measures, or to oblige the Persons to hearken to their Advice.

H A D it been a Heavenly Vision, 'tis more than probably it would have laid hold of the King's Hand, and as the Apparition of Angels did to *Lot*, and as it were

dragg'd him away, and said You shall not go forward, that you may not be defeated and slain, both you and your Army.

A G A I N, had it been the *Devil*, or an Apparition from Hell, the Message would never have been for Good; it would never have warn'd him to avoid the Battel, which should be so fatal to him, and in which so much Innocent Blood should be shed to gratify the Priests, who 'twas not doubted were brib'd or otherwise influenc'd by *France*, and by which the King should be sure to lose his Life.

T H E *Devil* is too great a lover of Mischief to concern himself in such an eminent manner for a Publick Good; too great an Enemy to Mankind to take the Trouble to caution the King twice, and [sig.G7^a] send, as we may say, two Expresses to him to save his Life, and prevent a War; nor can we suppose the *Devil* concern'd to promote Peace in the World, but just the contrary; 'tis his business to Foment⁵⁰ Distractions, publick Confusions, and War.

B U T should we suppose for once that the *Devil* standing Neuter between the two Nations, should go so far out of his way as to endeavour to keep the Peace for that time only; yet what shall we say to the other Part of the Message at *Lithgo*, viz. That he should abstain from his Lewdness, and from his scandalous Life, his familiarity with Women, and the like? Did ever the *Devil* pretend to

this in his Life? if this cou'd be the *Devil*, then he must be allow'd to act very much out of his ordinary Way, as some express it; 'tis not his profess'd, avow'd Practice.

W H A T then must these Appearances be, and from whence? And how reasonable is it from all these things to believe, that there are some other Spirits which we yet know nothing of, or but very little, who do so far concern themselves for the good of Mankind, as that they frequently appear to us to warn us of Danger, to alarm us at the Approach of Impending Mischief; advising and cautioning us from evil Courses, and evil Actions, as what is destructive to our present as well as future Felicity?

I F it be Objected, that some have owned themselves to be the Souls of departed Persons, as of near Relations, Wives, Husbands, &c. and have appear'd in their Likness, and even in their Cloaths; it is answer'd, That is no Argument against the thing at all; because as Spirits are allow'd in our present Discourse to assume any Shape, so it is not doubted but they may take up the Shape of the Dead as well as of the Living, and may assume the [sig.G7^b] very Cloaths, Countenances, and even Voices of dead Persons; and it must be so, or else we must fall into the absurdities of Souls remaining in a wandring, unappointed, unsettled state after Life; which, if it

should be granted, we must in many things contradict the Scripture, and the receiv'd Opinions of all the reform'd Churches, and almost of all good Men even in all Ages.

C H A P. VII.

Of the many strange Inconveniencies and ill Consequences which would attend us in this World, if the Souls of Men and Women, unembodied and departed, were at Liberty to visit the Earth, from whence they had been dismiss'd, and to concern themselves about Human Affairs, either such as had been their own, or that were belonging to other People.

I B E L I E V E there are few speculative Delusions more universally receiv'd than this, that those things we call Spectres, Ghosts, and Apparitions, are really the departed Souls of those Persons who they are said to represent.

W E see, or pretend to see, our very Friends and Relations actually cloath'd with their old Bodies, tho' we know those Bodies to be embowell'd, separated, and rotting in the Grave; as certainly as the Head and Quarters of a Man executed for Treason are drying in the Sun upon the Gates of the City: we see them dress'd up in

the very Cloaths which we have cut to pieces and given away, some to one body some to another, of applied to this or that use; so [sig.G8^d] that we can give an Account of every Rag of them: we hear them speaking with the same Voice and Sound, tho' the Organ which form'd their former Speech we are sure is perished and gone.

T H E S E Similitudes of things fix it upon our Thoughts, that it must be the same; that the Souls of our late Friends are actually come to revisit us; which is to me, I confess, the most incongruous and unlikeliest thing in the World.

F I R S T, They must have a very mean Opinion of the future State, and the exalted Condition of the Blessed, that can imagine they are to be interrupted in their Joy; and even *disquieted*, as *Samuel* said to *Saul*¹, by the importunities of this World's Affairs: *Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?* as if it was in the Power of a despicable Witch to bring him up, for it intimates a Force, whether he would or not; which did not at all correspond with the high Thoughts we are directed to entertain of the perfect Felicity of that State, of which Eye has not seen, or Ear heard, or Heart conceived.

S E C O N D L Y, They must have likewise very mean Thoughts of the State of everlasting Misery, who can think that the Spirits in Prison can get loose from those who determined Chains, to come hither and attend upon the

Trifles of Life; nor do I know whether it would be worth their shifting Hell, and coming back to this World in the wandring Condition those Things call'd Ghosts are understood to be; or indeed to reassume a Body, without making Life a State of farther Probation. For what would Life be here for a few Years subjected to human Infirmary, want, distress, and casualty, and no alteration possible of their future State, no Hope, no room for changing the Sentence? They know little of that Hell call'd Despair, that can think it more supportable in this World, than the Eternal State, which it is a prospect of, is in that to come. [sig.G8^b]

B U T this is too grave abundance for Times, and therefore I say no more of that Part; but I must bring the Case nearer to our present Taste, as well as to our Capacity.

L E T us next enquire into the Necessity of disturbing or disquieting our departed Friends, with or about the Concerns of their Families: If their coming is by the Permission of Providence, then I demand what Occasion is there for it? and of what Service is it? seeing the same Providence is able to employ other Servants of the same Errand, and to do the same Business, and who will not only do it as well, but to be sure much better. It is answer'd, the Sovereignty of Providence is not to be disputed, He may do what he pleases, and employ who he

pleases: but then the Wisdom of Providence too is not known to act inconsistent with itself; and, which is a sufficient Answer to all the rest, we are allowed to judge of all these things by our reasoning Powers, nor have we any other Rules to judge by; and it can be no Crime to reason with calmness, and with due respect to superior Power, upon the ordinary Administration even of Heaven itself.

I'L I suppose that no Apparitions were allow'd to shew themselves on Earth, but on Occasions of some unusual Consequence, and that then they might always be expected; and there are many affirm it to be so; (tho' I openly say I do not,) but suppose it, I say; and that whenever these things have appear'd it was in especial Cases, such as of manifestly injur'd Right, Oppression of Widows and Orphans, Wrong done to Persons unable to do themselves Justice, depress'd Poverty, and many such Cases which Souls are said to be anxious about, even after Death; I say, if it were so, the World is at this time (and, perhaps, has always been) so full of Violence, Injustice, [sig.H1^a] Fraud and Oppression, that the Souls of our departed Friends would hardly ever be at rest.

H O W many weeping Widows, starving Orphans and oppress'd Families have in our Age suffer'd by the loss of Money which their Fathers and other Ancestors left for their Subsistance and Establishment in a City Chamber, or

put into a certain Exchequer² upon the publick Faith? According to this Notion, neither the visible or invisible World would have been at Peace: the habitated visible World would have been continually haunted with Ghosts, and we should never have been quiet for the Disturbance of Spirits and Apparitions: and invisible World would have been in a continued Hurry and Uneasiness; Spirits and Unembodied Souls asking leave to go back again to see their Wills rightly perform'd, and to harrass their Executors for injuring their Orphans; and all the Ages of Time would have been taken up in giving Satisfaction to them in such and such Cases.

I T was the Saying of a *Roman*³, (indeed, I mean, a *Roman* in Religion) that it was a Sign to him, past all Dispute, that the Dead could never come to the Quick, because the Testators⁴ of all those Charities given by departed Souls of Saints for the Maintenance of Hospitals, Chantries⁵, Colleges, Churches, and religious Houses, as well in Money as in Lands and Inheritances, did not walk, and haunt King *Hen. VIII*, and pull him not out of his Throne only, but out of his Grave, for taking away, as he did, all those Rents and Revenues, Lands and Estates from the religious Houses to which they belong'd.

N O W if they were not disquieted for so great a Piece of Injustice, why should they be forcibly disturb'd for Trifles, compar'd to those great Events?

A G A I N, should departed Souls get leave to come back to this World, to see Justice done to their Fa- [sig.H1^b] milies and Relations, how comes it to pass that they have not done it on such frequent Occasions as are daily given them in the World? And why do any People enjoy peaceably the Estates which they got wrongfully? The Works of Heaven are all perfect. Would he have sent Angels or Spirits to procure Justice to be done only in Part, and not in the Whole? And how much Arrears⁶ is the wicked Part of the World then in, to the better Part? And which way is it possible Right should be done?

B E S I D E S, to go back to publick Things; what Rage, what Violences, Rapins⁷, Ruins, not of Persons only, but of Nations, have we seen and heard of in the World? and yet we see Death puts an End to all Grievance, or Complaints of Grievance whatsoever; the departed Souls rest undisturb'd about it, Resentment all dies with them; and whatever the Apparitions, which we call Souls, have pretended, or we have pretended for them, the Souls themselves are perfectly unconcern'd at it all.

W H A T Apparitions have been, have certainly been of those blessed Angelick Spirits, who may so far have concern'd themselves in some Cases of Violence, Oppression, manifest and atrocious Frauds, to allarm the Offenders, and thereby bring them to do Right, as well for their own good as for the Relief of the oppress'd

Sufferers, who, perhaps, have invoc'd the Divine Justice against them.

H E N C E give me leave to observe, tho' it is still a little serious, and perhaps you may think it is out of the way, that 'tis not a thing of the least Concern to us to have the Cry of the Poor against us, or to have the Widows and Orphans, who we have injur'd and oppress'd, look up to Heaven for Relief against us, when they, perhaps, have not Money to go to Law, or to obtain to seek Remedy against us in the ordinary way of Justice. I had much rather have an unjust Enemy draw his Sword upon [sig.H2^d] me, than an injur'd poor Widow cry to Heaven for Justice against me; and I think I should have much more Reason to be afraid of the Last than the First, the Effect is most likely to be fatal. *Job. xxxiv. 28. and Exod. xxii. 22, 23. Ye shall not afflict any Widow or Fatherless Child: If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their Cry; and v. 24. And your Wives shall be Widows, and your Children Fatherless.* But this is a Digression, and of a kind I shall not fall often into.

B U T as much as I think there is Reason to apprehend the Prayers of the oppress'd Widow and Orphan, or of any injur'd Fellow-Creatures; yet I must acknowledge I see no Reason to be afraid of their Ghosts, or of their Souls visiting me, in order to terrifie me into a Change of the

evil Practice, and a humour or resolve of doing Right to their Families.

C O N S C I E N C E, indeed, is a frightful Apparition itself, and I make no Question but it oftentimes haunts an oppressing Criminal into Restitution, and is a Ghost to him sleeping or waking: nor is it the least Testimony of an invisible World that there is such a Drummer as that in the Soul, that can beat an Allarm when he pleases, and so loud, as no other Noise can drown it, no Musick quiet it or make it hush, no Power silence it, no Mirth allay it, no Bribe corrupt it.

C O N S C I E N C E raises many a *Devil*, that all the Magick in the World can't lay; it shows us many an Apparition that no other Eyes can see, and sets Spectres before us with which the *Devil* has no Acquaintance; Conscience makes Ghosts walk, and departed Souls appear, when the Souls themselves know nothing of it.

T H I S thing called Conscience is a strange bold Disturber, it works upon the Imagination with an [sig.H2^b] [insert plate] invincible Force; like Faith, it makes a Man view things that are not, as if it were; feel things that are not to be felt, see things that are not to be seen, and hear things that are not to be heard; it commands the Senses, nay even the Tongue it self, which is so little under Command, submits to this sovereign Mandate; and tho' I do not see the Conscience always

over-rules it to Silence, yet it often makes it speak, even whether it would or no, and that to its own Ruin and Destruction; making the guilty Man accuse himself, and confess what his Policy had before so effectually conceal'd, that no Eye had seen it, no Evidence could prove it.

T H E Murtherer sees the murther'd Innocent as plainly before his Eyes, as if he was actually sent back from his Place to charge him; nay, he sees him without Eyes, he is present with him sleeping and waking; he sees him when he is not to be seen, and testifies to his own Guilt, with no need of other Witness.

I H A V E heard a Story⁸ which I believe to be true, of a certain Man who was brought to the Bar of Justice on Suspicion of Murther, which however he knew it was not in the Power of human Knowledge to detect. When he came to hold up his Hand at the Bar, he pleaded, *Not Guilty*; and the Court began to be at a Loss for a Proof, nothing but Suspicion and Circumstances appearing; however such Witnesses as they had examin'd as usual; the Witness standing up, as is usual, upon a little Step, to be visible to the Court.

W H E N the Court thought they had no more Witnesses to examine, and the Man in a few Moments would have been acquitted; he gives a Start at the Bar, as if he was frighted; but recovering his Courage a little, he

stretches out his Arm toward the Place where the Witnesses usually stood [sig.H3^d] to give Evidence upon Tryals, and pointing with his Hand, My Lord, says he, (aloud) that is not fair, 'tis not according to Law, he's not a legal Witness.

T H E Court is surpriz'd and could not understand what the Man meant; but the Judge, a Man of more Penetration, took the Hint, and checking some of the Court that offer'd to speak, and which would have perhaps brought the Man back again to himself; Hold, *says the Judge*, the Man sees something more than we do, I begin to understand him; and then speaking to the Prisoner,

W H Y, *says he*, is he not a legal Witness? I believe the Court will allow his Evidence to be good, when he comes to speak.

No, my Lord, it cannot be just, it can't be allowed, *says the Prisoner*, (with a confused Eagerness in his Countenance, that shew'd he had a bold Heart but a guilty Conscience.)

W H Y not, Friend, what Reason do you give for it? *says the Judge*.

My Lord, *says he*, no Man can be allowed to be Witness in his own Case; he is a Party, my Lord, he can't be a Witness.

B U T you mistake, *says the Judge*, for you are indicted at the Suit of the King, and the Man may be a Witness for

the King, as in case of a Robbery on the Highway we always allow the Person robb'd is a good Witness; and without this the Highway-Man could not be convicted; but we shall hear what he says, when he is examined.

T H I S the Judge spoke with so much Gravity, and so easie and natural, that the Criminal at the Bar answer'd, Nay, if you will allow him to be a good Witness, then I am a dead Man: the last Words he said with a lower Voice than the rest, but withal called for a Chair to sit down.
[sig.H3^b]

T H E Court order'd him a Chair, which if he had not had, 'twas thought that he would have sunk down to the Bar; as he sat down he was observed to be in great Consternation, and lifted up his Hands several times, repeating the Words, *a dead Man, a dead Man*, several times over.

T H E Judge, however, was at some Loss how to act, and the whole Court appear'd to be in a strange Consternation, tho' no body saw any thing but the Man at the Bar; at length the Judge said to him, Look you Mr. ----- calling him by his Name, You have but one way left that I know of, and I'll read it to you out of the Scripture; and so calling for a Bible he turns to the Book of *Joshua*, and reads the Text, *Josh. vii. 19. And Joshua said unto Achan, my Son, give, I pray thee, Glory*

to the Lord God of Israel, and make Confession unto him, and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from me.

H E R E the Judge exhorted him to confess his Crime, for he saw, no doubt, an Evidence ready to convict him, and to discover the whole Matter against him; and if he did not confess, Heaven would, no doubt, send Witness to detect him.

U P O N this the self-condemn'd Murtherer burst out into Tears and sad Lamentations for his own miserable Condition, and made a full Confession of his Crime; and when he had done, gave the following Account of his Case, as to the Reasons of his being under such a Surprize, viz. That he saw the murther'd Person standing upon the Step as a Witness, ready to be examined against him, and ready to shew his Throat which was cut by the Prisoner, and who, as he said, stood staring full upon him with a frightful Countenance; and this confounded him: (as well it might) and yet there was no real Apparition, no Spectre, no Ghost or Appearance, it was all figur'd out to him by the Power of his own Guilt, and the Agitations of [sig.H4^d] his Soul, fir'd and surpriz'd by the Influence of Conscience.

T H E Soul of the Murther'd Person seeks no Revenge; all that Part is swallowed up in the Wonders of the eternal State, and Vengeance entirely resign'd to him to whom it belongs; but the Soul of the Murtherer is like

the Ocean in a Tempest, he is in continual Motion, restless and raging; and the Guilt of the Fact, like the Winds to the Sea, lies on his Mind as a constant Pressure, and adds to that, (still like the Seas) 'tis hurry'd about by its own Weight, rolling to and again, Motion encreasing Motion, 'till it becomes a meer Mass of Horrour and Confusion.

I N this distracted Condition, Conscience, like a Storm at Sea, still breaks over him; first gathers about him in a thick black Cloud, threatening the Deaths that it come loaded with; and after hovering about him for a-while, at last bursts with Lightnings and Thunder, and the poor shatter'd Vessel suffers Shipwreck, sinks, and is overwhelm'd in the Middle of it.

I F Justice does not overtake him, if he is not discover'd and detected, and brought to publick Shame, as the Laws of God and Man require; How is he put to the Question (so they call it in the Countries abroad, when Men are put to the Rack to make them confess) how is he tortur'd with the Terrors of his own Thoughts, haunted with the Ghosts of his own Imagination, and Apparitions without Apparition? the murther'd Person is always in his Sight, and Cries of Blood are ever in his Ears; 'till at last, less able to bear the Torture of Mind than the Punishment of his Carcass, he even dies for fear of Death, murders himself, and goes away in Horror; or, if

Heaven is merciful to him, delivers himself up to Justice, and dies a Penitent. [sig.H4^b]

I C O U L D give many flagrant Instances of this, enough to crowd up this whole Work, but I have not room for it; take one or two for Examples.

A G E N T L E M A N, and a Man in good Circumstances too, committed a Murther⁹ in or near St. *Pancras Soaper-Lane*¹⁰, *London*, many Years ago; the Murther was attended with some very cruel and barbarous Circumstances, such as he could not expect to be pardoned for, so he fled, and making his Escape into *France*, got out of the Reach of Justice.

H I S personal Safety was for a-while so much Satisfaction to him, that he did not make any Reflections at all upon the Fact; but after a-while, he took shipping from *France*, and went over to *Martinico*¹¹, where he liv'd several Years; and even for two or three Years he carried it off well enough; but the first Shock given to his Soul was in a Fit of Sickness, when being in Danger of Death, he saw, as he was between sleeping and waking, the Spectre, as he thought, of the murther'd Person, just as in the Posture as when he killed him, his Wound bleeding, and his Countenance ghastly; the Sight of which exceedingly terrify'd him, and at length awaken'd him.

B U T being awake, and finding it was but a Dream, and that the murther'd Person did not really appear to him,

and, as he call'd it, haunt him, he was as easie as to that Part; but being in a high Feaver, and believing he should die, Conscience began to stare at him, and to talk to him; he resisted a long time, but Death approaching, he grew very pensive, tho', as he said, still more afraid of dying, than penitent for his Crime.

A F T E R he recover'd he grew easie, and began to forget things again; came over to *Europe* again, and being at *Roan*¹² in *Normandy*, he dream'd he saw the murther'd Man again, and that he look'd [sig.H5³] frightful and terrible; and with a threat'ning Aspect, and this threw him into a kind of Melancholy, which encreas'd exceedingly; the Spectre, as he call'd it, coming to him every Night.

B U T this was not all; for now as he dreamed of it all Night, so he thought of it all Day; it was, as we say, before his Eyes continually, his Imagination form'd Figures to him, now of this kind, then of that, always relating to the murther'd Man; so that, in short, he could think of nothing else: And tho' he was satisfied there was no real Ghost, as he called it, or Apparition, yet his own terrified Conscience made the Thought be to him like one continued Apparition, and the murther'd Man was never out of his Sight.

H E was so reduced by the constant Agitation of his Soul, that he was in a very weak Condition, and in a deep

Consumption: But in the midst of these Tumults of his Soul, he had a strong Impression upon his Mind, that he could never die in Peace, nor ever go to Heaven, if he did not go over to *England*, and either get the Parliament's Pardon (for it was in those Days when there was no King in *Israel*¹³) or that if he could not obtain a Pardon, that then he should surrender into the Hands of Justice, and satisfy the Law with his Life, which was the Debt he owed to the Blood of the Man he kill'd, and cou'd no other way be expiated¹⁴.

H E withstood this as a wild distracted thing, and the Fruit of his disturb'd Mind: What, *said he to himself*, should I go to *England* for? to go there is to G O and D I E; and these Words, G O and D I E, run daily upon his Mind: But tho' they came first in his Thoughts, as an Answer to his other Distractions, yet they turn'd upon him soon after, and he dream'd that the dead murther'd Man said to him, G O and D I E; and repeating it said, [sig.H5^b] G O to *England* and D I E; and this follow'd him by Night and by Day, asleep and awake, that he had it always in his Ears, GO to *England* and DIE.

I N short, and to pass over some Circumstances, tho' worth telling, which happen'd to him in the mean time, he was so continually terrify'd by the Reproaches of his Conscience, and the Voice which he thought follow'd him,

and that he answer'd it once in his Sleep thus; Well, if it must be so, let me alone, I will G O and D I E.

I T was some time however before he did; but at last, unable to support the Torture of his Mind, he resolv'd to come over to *England*, and did so: He landed at *Gravesend*¹⁵, and there took Passage in the Tilt-Boat¹⁶ for *London*.

W H E N he arriv'd at *London*, intending to land at *Westminster*, he took a Wherry¹⁷ at *Billingsgate*¹⁸, to carry him through the Bridge. It happen'd, that two Lighters¹⁹ loaden with Coals run foal of the Boat he was in, and of one another, over-against *Queen-Hith*²⁰, or thereafter; and the Watermen were so very hard to put it, that they had much ado to avoid being crush'd between the Lighters, so that they were oblig'd to get into one of the Lighters, and let the Boat sink.

T H I S occasion'd him, contrary to his Design, to go on Shore a little to the Eastward of *Queen-Hith*; from thence he walk'd up on Foot towards *Cheap-side*²¹, intending to take a Coach for *Westminster*.

A S he pass'd a Street, which crosses out of *Bread-Street*²² into *Bow-lane*²³, being almost Night, and he not well knowing the Streets, having been absent eighteen Years, he heard some body cry, Stop him, stop him! It seems a Thief had broke into a House in some Place, as he

pass'd by, and was discover'd, and run for it, and the People after him, crying Stop him, Stop him! [sig.H6^d]

I T presently occur'd to him, that being so near the Place where the Murther was committed, and where he had lived, some body that knew him had seen him, and that it was him they cry'd after; upon which he began to run with all his Might.

H A D the People cry'd *stop Thief*, he had had no need to be alarm'd, knowing, as he said, that he had stolen nothing; but the Crowd crying only *stop him, stop him*, it was likely to be him as not; and his own Guilt concurring, he run, *as above*.

A S he run with all his Might, it was a good while before the People overtook him; but just at the Corner of *Soaper-lane*²⁴, near about where now stands the *Rummer Tavern*²⁵, his Foot slipt, and his Breath failing him too, he fell down.

T H E People, not knowing who he was, had lost their Thief, and pursu'd him; but when they came up to him, they found he was not the right Person, and began to leave him; but his own Guilty Conscience, which at first set him a running, and which alone was his real Pursuer, continuing to follow him close, and which at last had thrown him down too, so encreas'd his Fright, that believing they all knew him, he cry'd out, It is very true, I am the Man, it was I did it.

I T seems, when he first fell, some People, who upon hearing the Noise in the Street came running to their Doors, as is usual in such Cases; I say, some People, at the Door of a House, just against where he fell, said to one another, There he is, that's he, they have catch'd him; and it was upon that Saying that he answer'd, *It is very true, I am the Man, I did it*; for still he imagin'd they knew him to be the Murtherer, that kill'd the Man so long ago; whereas there was no body there that had and any Knowledge of the Matter, and the very Memory of the thing was almost forgotten in the Place, as it might well be, having been done eighteen Years before. [sig.H6^b]

H O W E V E R, when they heard him cry *I am the Man*, and *I did it*, one of the People that came about him said, What did you do? Why, I kill'd him, says he; I kill'd Mr. ----- and then repeated his Name; but no body remember'd the Name.

W H Y, are you mad, says one of the People; and then, *added another*, the Man's a distracted, disorder'd Man. They pursu'd a little Shoplifting Thief, and here they have frighted a poor Gentleman, that they own is not the Person, but is an unhappy disorder'd Man, and fancy'd they pursu'd after him.

B U T are you sure he is not the Man?

S U R E? says another; Why, they tell you so themselves. Besides, the Man is distracted.

D I S T R A C T E D! *says a third*, how do you know that?

N A Y, *says the other*, he must be distracted, or in Drink; don't you hear how he talks? *I did it, I kill'd him*, and I don't know what. Why, here's no body kill'd, is there? I tell you the poor Man is craz'd. Thus they talk'd a-while, and some run forward towards *Cheap-side*, to look for the real Thief, and so they were about to let him go. But one grave Citizen, and wiser than the rest, cry'd, *nay hold*, let's enquire a *little further*; tho' he's not the Thief they look for, *there may be something in it; let us go before my Lord Mayor with him*: and so they did. I think the Lord Mayor then in Being, was sir *William Turner*²⁶.

W H E N he came before the Lord Mayor, he voluntarily confess'd the Fact, and was afterwards executed for it: and I had the Substance of this Relation from an Ear-witness of the thing, so that I can freely say that I give entire Credit to it.

I T was remarkable also, that the Place where this Man fell down when he run, believing he was pursued and known, tho' at first he really was not, [sig.H7^d] was just against the very Door of the House where the Person liv'd that he had murther'd.

M A N Y Inferences might be drawn from this Story, but that which is particularly to my Purpose, is, to shew how

Men's Guilt crowds their Imagination with sudden and surprizing Ideas of things; brings Spectres and Apparitions into their Eyes, when there are really no such things; forms Ghosts and Phantasms in their very View, when their Eyes are shut: They see sleeping, and dream waking; the Night is all Vision, and the Day all Apparition, 'till either by Penitence or Punishment they make Satisfaction for the Wrong they have done, and either Justice or the injur'd Person are appeased.

B U T to bring all this back to our Business: here's no other Apparition in all this, than what are form'd in the Imagination; the Ghosts, the Souls of the most injur'd Person, whether injuriously murther'd, or injuriously robb'd and plunder'd, sleeps in Peace, knows nothing of the Murtherer or Thief, except only that it gives that Part all up to the Eternal Judge: the Murtherer has the Horror of the Fact always upon him, Conscience draws the Picture of the Crime in Apparition just before him, and the Reflection, not the injur'd Soul, is the Spectre that haunts him: Nor can he need a worse Tormentor in his Life; whether there is a worse hereafter, or no, I do not pretend to determine. This is certainly a *Worm that never dies*; 'tis always gnawing the Vitals, not of the Body, but of the very Soul--But I say, here was no Apparition all this while of any kind, no Spectre, no Ghost, no not to detect a Murtherer.

1. N O *Devil* or Evil Spirit; as for *Satan*, he would rather protect, or at least shelter him, that he might commit another Murther.

2. N O Soul of the deceased, however injur'd; the Man acknowledg'd he never saw any real Apparition. [sig.H7^b]

W H A T was it then the Man was exercis'd with? I answer, he was harrass'd by the Reflection of his own Guilt, and the Sluices of the Soul were set open by the Angels or Spirits attending, and who by Divine Appointment are always at hand to execute the vindictive Part of Justice, as well as the more merciful Dispensations of Heaven, when they have them in Commission.

T H E S E abandon'd him to the Fury of an enrag'd Conscience, open'd the Sluices of the Soul, as I call them, and pour'd in a Flood of unsufferable Grief, letting loose those wild Beasts call'd Passions upon him, such as *Rage*, *Anguish*, *Self-reproach*, too late *Repentance*, and final *Desperation*, all to fall upon him at once; so the Man runs to Death for Relief, tho' it be to the Gallows, or any where, and that even by the meer Consequence of Things.

B U T if then Oppression, Injury, Robbery, and even Murther it self, will not bring the departed injur'd Soul back in Ghost or Apparition; if when it is once Uncas'd, Dismiss'd, or Unembodied, its State is determin'd, and

that it can receive no such Impressions as to be disquieted afterwards, much less brought back hither to haunt or perplex the Persons left behind, what then shall we say?

H O W then can we think they should come back for Trifles, nameless Trifles, or Trifles not worth naming? and what are we to call those nameless Apparitions which we have Reason to believe are, and frequently have been seen in the World? what are they, nay, what can they be, but these Angels or Spirits, call them what you will, who inhabit, or have their Station in the great Void or Wast? who have the Guard, not of our *Atmosphere* only, nay not of the *Solar System* only, tho' that is of Immense and Inconceivable Extent, and full of distant Planetary Worlds, but even of the whole System of the Creation, the System of *Empty Space*. [sig.H8^d]

T H E S E may, and no doubt do visit us every Day, whether they are visible to us or no; their Business is among us, they are posted in their Station as describ'd, on purpose to take Cognizance of us, and of things belonging to us, and done by us.

I F Murther, Rapine, and Oppression is exercis'd upon any, these frequently, if not always, concern themselves, either to detect it, or to bring the Offender to Justice, or both, especially in Cases of Blood: And this is the best way we can account for the Discovery of Murther,

which is so general, that it is our receiv'd Opinion, that Murther very seldom goes undiscover'd; that *Murther will out*, that is, will come out to be known and punished.

I F instead of saying Murther *very seldom goes undiscover'd*, they had said *seldom goes unpunish'd*, I believe it might have been universally true; for some times secret Murthers are never discover'd to the Persons who knew of the Fact, or in the Place where it was committed: but how are they pursu'd by the Divine Vengeance, that is to say under the Ministry of these happy Instruments, who fail not to pursue the Murtherer? perhaps it may be the only Case wherein they are Agents of Justice, without a mixture of Mercy.

H O W many secret, and 'till then undiscover'd Murtherers do these happy Instruments oblige the guilty Wretches to discover, which no Human Eye had been Witness to? Some are discover'd, as in the Example above, and brought to Punishment: Some at the Gallows, whither the Criminal is brought for other Crimes; some upon sick Beds, and in View of Eternal Judgement; some in Shipwrecks, some in Battels, some one way, some another.
[sig.H8^b]

N O R can it be deny'd, that tho' these angelick ministring Spirits were to be constant Messengers of Justice in such Cases, yet it would be much more merciful

than to give the Soul of the injur'd murther'd Person leave to come back arm'd with Power, and with the Terrors of its invisible State, to do it self Justice, inflam'd with the Resentments which it might be reasonable to suppose it must have at the Injury receiv'd, able to tear the Murtherer in Pieces, and in Condition to carry on its own Quarrel, and execute the Divine Justice, in revenge of its private Quarrel.

1. T H I S would be inconsistent with the supreme Prerogative of Heaven, by which he has taken all executive Justice into his own Hand, all Retribution, all retaliating Justice; and that on purpose to restrain the Rage and Fury of Men, who would be unbounded in the vindictive Part, and set no Limits to their Vengeance; which for that very Reason, I say, God has declar'd he takes into his own Hand; *Vengeance is M I N E, I will repay.* Rom. xii. 19.

2. I F it were not thus, the World would be a Field of Blood and Confusion, the departed Soul of a murdered Person would be always harrassing, not the Murtherer only, but all the Persons concern'd in his Injury; and without Mercy would call every one a Murtherer, that was on the side of his Enemy, whether guilty or not; in a word, suppose he dy'd fighting, he would come back to revenge his own Death, fir'd with a double Rage, and arm'd with an irresistible Ability to revenge.

B U T not to confine myself to the Case of a Murther only; If Souls after Death could return to visit those who they had any Concerns with here, let the Occasion be what it would, the World would be all Confusion and Disorder; Quarrels and Contentions would never cease, Feuds [sig.II^d] of Families would not die, but the injur'd Person would always come back to right himself.

A N D how do we know they would, even in that enlightened State of Being, be impartially just, considering they would act in their own Causes? Are we sure they would not insist upon pretending Right, as they did perhaps when living? if so, then we must have Appeals even from the Spirits themselves; for they would be as liable to do Injury in their Revenge, as those yet living had been to do to them.

H E R E we might make a rational Excursion upon the present State of Things: What would be the case, if all the injur'd Souls now in a determin'd State, were able to come back, and demand Justice of the present Age? what work would it make among us? how many wealthy Landlords would be turn'd out of Possession, and rich Tradesmen oblig'd to refund? How would the strong Oppressor be challeng'd by the weak, the injur'd Poor be the ruin of the Rich? How many Adulterers would be bound to dislodge from the Arms of the fair Intruder? How many injur'd

Ladies would claim their Properties, and turn the Usurpers out of Bed?

H O W would young ----- be call'd to to do right upon a whole Family, whose Tears for the marrying one Sister, and debauching the other, have hitherto been in vain? How would the civil Rape be discover'd, and the Artifices be detected, which broke two Hearts, for want of doing right to one?

H O W long ago would the Soul of ----- ²⁷ have appear'd to do her self Justice, which a wheedl'd C-----a brib'd ----- and a sleepy ----- deny'd her, and to demand the Sentence, which the plain acknowledgment of her Murtherers cou'd not exhort from them?

H O W would she have haunted the Retirement of the guilty Wretch, and have beaten him out of all [sig.I1^b] his Subterfuges, 'till he had come upon his Knees to the Hangman, and begg'd to be dismiss'd from a Hell so much worse than that he had reason to expect he was going to? or have been his own Drudge, and have anticipated Justice by an immediate Dispatch?

B U T they have been left to the Iron Hands of yet slumbering Justice; which Conscience (however it may at present forbear) must soon tell them, will be not the less certain for the delay.

B U T let us leave the Mechanick Criminals, and enquire of the superior Ranks of Men: How many usurping Tyrants

possess the Thrones of oppress'd, and perhaps murther'd Princes; while the Blood of Armies, nay, of whole Nations (speaking as to Number) has been sacrific'd to support the Ambition of one Man?

W H A T Mercy to Mankind has the supreme Lord exhibited, in this wise allotment of Things? viz. That the Grave buries all the Rage of humane Resentment: the Oppressed and the Oppressor rest together; the Murtherer and the Murthered; the most inveterate Enemies; the conquer'd in Battel, and the Slain of the conquering Army, make one heap of quiet and peaceful Dust, blended together, and mould'ring into the common Element of Earth.

A L L the Animosity, being fled with the enrag'd Souls, carries with it the very remains of the Quarrel, and they no more appear Enemies, but freely encorporate their Dust with one another. The late D. *Ha-----*²⁸, might have been buried in the same Grave, nay, in the same Coffin, with the Lord *Mo-----*²⁹; and their Swords left in their Hands, the Souls of the noble Enemies would never have concerned themselves again with the Quarrel.

H E A V E N, who thought fit to cool the Rage of their Minds, by their own unhappy Hands, and make 'em reciprocally the Executioner of the Di- [sig.I2^a] vine Pleasure upon themselves, has thought fit also to take from both the power of determining any more who was

right, and who was wrong, and oblig'd them mutually to refer the further enquiry to himself.

T H E two *Danish Soldiers*³⁰ who fought at *Beverly*³¹, one kill'd upon the Spot, and the other immediately shot to Death for fighting, and buried together; there they lie quiet in one Grave, the Souls of them never visit one another, to complain of the Injury.

C O U L D Souls departed come back to demand Redress of Grievances, and to put Men in mind of the Injustice done them; could they challenge the living Possessors of their Estates for the Frauds by which they were obtained; what Confusion would *Exchange-Alley*³² and the *Exchange of London*³³ be in? what distraction would it make in all the Affairs of Life? and how soon would the Men who amass'd immense Wealth, *Ann. 1720*, disappear like *W-- of Hack---*³⁴, and sink under the guilt of their good Fortune?

I N a word, it would invert the Order of Eternal Justice, for it would make this Earth be the Place of Rewards and Punishments, and take the Executive Power out of the Hands of the great Governour of the World.

D E P E N D then upon it, the Souls of our departed Friends, or Enemies, are all in their fix'd and determin'd States; whether arriv'd at a full Consummation of Felicity or Misery, that is not the case, nor is it any Part of the Question; but they are so remov'd from all possibility of return Hither, or concern with us,

that the very Suggestion, however it has for many Ages prevail'd in the World, is full of Absurdity. The Joys of the Happy are so compleat, so exalted, so superior, that the greatest Affairs of this World are too trifling, to take up the [sig.I2^b] least Moment, or give the least Interruption to their Felicity; as a poor or mean Man, that having a vast Estate left him in his immediately Possession, quits his decay'd out-of-repair Cottage upon the Waste, and having his Hands full of Gold, or even Bags of Gold, scorns to take up the Rags and Rubbish of his old dirty Habitation; but says to his Servants, Let any one take 'em that will, I have enough here.

O N the other hand, the rejected and condemn'd Soul, loaded with his own Crime, and sinking under the Weight of inexpressible Horror; shall he have any thought about the hated World he came out of! he abhors and hates the place where he spent a long Life of such Crime, as now loads him with insupportable Punishment, is he at leisure, or in composure for concerning himself in Life any more, where he has already so miserably ruin'd himself, Soul and Body!

I F he was to come back hither for any thing, it would probably to take the heaps of his ill-gotten Treasure from the unjust Possessor, his Heir; and making restitution with it to the Poor, whom he had oppress'd, to the Widows he had robb'd, and in general to all those

he had injur'd, leave his Family in Poverty and Rags, instead of their Robes and Velvet; and in Hospitals and Almshouses, rather than Palaces and Parks, and with Coaches or Horses. Proving the Proverb untrue, and showing that the Son may not be always happy, tho' the Father be gone to the *Devil*.

I D O U B T it would make but sad work among some Families, who now possess large Estates; if the Notion some People entertain about Spirits, and about haunting of Houses, should be true: Namely, that the Souls departed could not be at rest 'till Satisfaction was made in such and such cases, where Injury had been done to Orphans and Widows; and [sig.I3^d] 'till such Injustice was prevented as was farther like to be done by their means.

A S to what Rest the Souls of those departed would have, I am not resolve; but I doubt the Souls and Bodies too of those that remain, would have small Rest here, if that were true.

I S it not rather a Proof that the Soul cannot return hither, to do Right to the injur'd race of those whom it had oppress'd with Violence, when embodied, that the Ghost or Soul of ----- sleeps in its absent State, and does not call upon his too happy Heir, and charge him to make reparation in its Name, for all the Ravages and Plunder, out of which he rais'd those Millions he left

behind? If Usury, Extortion, Perjury and Blood are Injuries that disquiet the Souls unembodied, How is it that the Souls of all the Families, and even Nations of Families oppress'd and ruin'd by the late --- do not come and do themselves right out of the immense Wealth, left in possession to those, who, 'till that Justice be obtain'd, could have no Claim to it?

B U T to let the Injur'd and the Injurious sleep together, as they do, without disturbing or being distrub'd by one another, let us ask a few Questions of the living? How would a certain wandring Right Honourable, most simply elevated Object of human Pity, be terrified at the Apprehensions of meeting the dishonour'd Souls of his Ancestors? and particularly of his pious Grandfather, who would if it were possible to chastise him for his Lunacy, and drive him Home to the Feet of a merciful Sovereign, to ask Pardon for the most preposterous things that ever humane Rage drove any Man in his Senses to be guilt of!

I F the Souls of wise Men could be disquieted for the mad things done by their Posterity, what Regret must the Ancestors of all the exil'd Heirs of [sig.I3^a] Noble Blood now have, who see their Sons forfeiting the plentiful Fortunes they left them, by the most ridiculous and utterly improbable Scheme of the late *Preston* and *Dumblair*³⁵ Affair? an Attempt without Success, because

without rational Prosect, without humane Probability; and for which, as the late happy Lord *Derwentwater*³⁶ said, they should not have been sent to the *Tower*, but to *Bedlam*.

I F Souls could return, how should our Friends the A-----s and B-----s and S-----s³⁷ sleep in their Beds, while they enjoy the ruins of so many Families, and the fortunes of so many Sufferers, who hang'd themselves in Desperation for the loss? and why do they not see Apparitions every Night from the injur'd Ghosts of -----L -----Ra -----W -----Hu³⁸ and a thousand more; who, could they repass the Gulph, would certainly harrass them, 'till they should be glad to dismiss themselves the same way, and run to that Hell which they know nothing of, from that Hell of Self-reproach, which they would no longer be able to endure?

I C O U L D descend to Particulars, 'till I fill'd a Roll too long for your reading; and I know not whether it might be true, as Sir W----- B-----d³⁹ said in another case, that he believ'd all would come up that was under Ground, and his Grandfather would come with the rest and call for his Estate again.

T H E Doctrine of disquiet Souls returning hither, to do or obtain Justice, to make or demand Restitution, and that they could not be at rest 'till such and such things were settled, Wills perform'd, dispossess'd Heirs

righted, conceal'd Treasons discover'd, conceal'd Treasures found out, and the like, were it true, would make the World uninhabitable: Ghosts and Apparitions would walk the Streets at Noon-Day; and the living might go on one side of the Street, and the dead on the other; the latter would be infinitely more numerous. [sig.14^d]

N O T H I N G can be more proposterous than such a Notion. It is true, that the examples given, or pretended to be given, of it, are but few, and that very part is against them; for if the thing is real, why are they but few? It must be acknowledg'd, as the times go, the cases of the injur'd and oppress'd are not few: On the contrary, as God said of the old World, the whole Earth is fill'd with Violence. Whence is it then, if injur'd Souls, or the Souls or injur'd, oppress'd, ruin'd People could return, that there are not Millions haunting the Doors, nay the Closets and Bed-Chambers, of those that enjoy the Wealth which was so unjustly obtain'd?

I F it could be at all, the Number would be infinitely more; for why should one guilty Soul be uneasy, and not another? All the guilty would come back to make Restitution as far as they were able, and all the Sufferers would come back to obtain it.

A G A I N, the Condition of those who enjoy the ill-gotten Wealth of their Ancestors would be deplorable: the Souls of guilty Parents would harrass their Sons for

the Estate, to make Restitution; and the Souls of the oppress'd Sufferers would haunt them, to get their own restor'd: so that they only would be easy in the World, who had nothing to restore, or who enjoyed nothing but what was of their own getting; they only would sleep at Night who had ballanc'd with the Day, who had earn'd what they Eat, and had Eaten no more than they earn'd.

B U T this we see is not the case: that the Souls of the most guilty remain where they are, and the Souls of the most oppress'd do not come hither to complain, strongly implies, and is to me a sufficient proof, that their State is determin'd; that the Gulph is fix'd; that they can only look back with [sig.I4^b] Self-Reproach, but cannot come back to give themselves the Satisfaction of doing Justice to those they have injur'd; that the murther'd Person cannot come back, no, not to detect the Murtherer; or the plunder'd Traveller to discover the Highway-man. It is plain to me, and will pass for Evidence, that they cannot, because they do not; and 'tis plain to me that some do not, because all do not; for if any, why not all?

I T does not consist with the inlightned Justice of the State which we believe is beyond Life, to let one injured Soul come hither to obtain Justice against the Oppressor of his Family, and not let another have the same Liberty; or to let one injurious Soul return to make Restitution,

and make his Peace, that he may be at Rest, as they call it; and lock up another from it, who would be equally willing to do it, and is equally miserable in the want of it.

T H A T it is not so, is a sufficient Testimony to me that it cannot be so; and the miserable Condition of the World would be in here, if it were so, makes it clear to me that the Wisdom of Providence has otherwise determined it.

N O R would the Advantage be any thing considerable, at least not in proportion to the Disorder it would bring along with it; and were we to allow the Possibility, it would bring in so many Absurdities with it in Points of Religion, that it would destroy the establish'd Doctrines of all Religion: For Example,

F I R S T, We believe that the final Estate of the Soul is determined with Life, and *as the Tree falls so it must lie*; that *This is the State of Tryal, That the State of Retribution*⁴⁰: If so then, to what purpose should the Souls of the Dead desire to come back, unless they were to have a farther Probation, or that there was a Possibility of retrieving their State, [sig.I5^a] and recovering from the Sentence they were under? and if the divine Wisdom had left room for that, it would have as well spared them in Life 'till it had ben done.

S E C O N D L Y, To what Purpose should the Soul come back to do Justice, if doing that Justice could make no Alteration of its future State? If it could make any Alteration, then there must be room after Death to recover the Soul from eternal Death; and if there was, the Eyes may be supposed to be open'd there, that none would omit or neglect it.

T H I R D L Y, If coming hither, or doing Justice here, can be no Help to the Souls departed, and yet they desire it, you must then suppose a strong Desire of doing disinterested Good may possess the Souls of those who are in a State of Condemnation; which is inconsistent with the other Circumstances of Hell, which we have just Reason to believe shuts out all good Desire, and all good Principles, from the Souls that are there.

F O U R T H L Y, The Supposition of Souls being in a Condition after Death to return hither, destroys all the Descriptions which the Scripture gives us of the future Condition, either of the good or the bad Souls: but that I hinted before.

U P O N the whole 'tis a Notion, however it may have been received here, perfectly inconsistent with either Reason or reveal'd Religion; and I may venture to say it cannot be, 'tis impossible, and that all the Pretenses of a Ghost or Apparition saying it is such a Person, and that it cannot be at Rest 'till so and so be done, and

that now it shall go to God, must be a Delusion, and must be added by the Persons relating the Story; for that no Ghost or Spirit really happy could say so, or would impose so much upon us. [sig.I5^b]

C H A P. VIII.

*The Reality of Apparition farther asserted; and what
Spirits they are that do really appear.*

T H E affirming, as in the foregoing Chapters, that the unembodied Souls of Men do not appear again, or concern themselves in the Affairs of Life; that the Good would not if they could, and the Bad could not if they would; does not at all destroy the Reality of the thing call'd Apparition, or do I pretend to argue from thence that there is no such thing as any Apparition at all: on the contrary, I insist it is reasonable to believe (notwithstanding all that has been said) that there are such things as the Apparition of Spirits; and this I think I have prov'd past the Power of any Scruple or Cavil, as also that there have been such things in all Ages of the World.

T H E Doctrine of the Existence of Spirits is established in Nature; where those Spirits reside, is a Matter of Difficulty, and our Speculations are various about them; but to argue that therefore there are none, that they exist not, that there are no such Beings, is absurd, and contrary to the Nature of the thing; we may as well argue against the Existence of the Sun when it is

clouded and eclips'd, tho' we see its Light, only because we cannot see its Beams, or the Globe of its Body: But let us go back to the Principle.

S P I R I T, as it is to be consider'd here, is to be reduced to four general Heads. [sig.I6^d]

F I R S T, The Author of all *Spirit*, the Fountain of all Being, the Original Cause of Life, and the Creator both of Spirit and of all the Subsequents of it. This we justly adore, as the Infinite Eternal Spirit: *G O D* is a *S P I R I T*.

S E C O N D L Y, *Angels* or good Spirits; which are real Spirits, we have Demonstration of it, and they have and do appear daily, as the great Author of all Spirit directs, for the Service of Mankind, for they are *ministring Spirits*.

T H I R D L Y, *Devils* or evil Spirits; these are really Spirit too, of a spirituous Nature; 'tis true they are deprived of their Beauty, their Original Glory, because depriv'd of their Innocence; they are deform'd as well as defil'd by Crime, but they are not depriv'd of their Nature; they are Spirits still, tho' cast down and cast out, and are call'd *wicked Spirits*.

F O U R T H L Y, *Souls* of Men, whether good or bad; their Condition may be as you please to speak of it, Happy or Unhappy; the Case is the same, it does no way alter their Nature, but still they are *Spirits*. The

Spirits of just Men made perfect; there's the happy Spirits: the Spirits in Prison, and there's the unhappy; but both are Spirits, and are to be discours'd of as such in this Place.

N O W let us bring all this down to our present Purpose. I have asserted *their Being*, let me enquire into *their State*, as it respects our Subject; how far they may or may not, can or cannot appear among Men, in their present Circumstances. How they have visited this Earth at several Times, and on what Occasions, has been mentioned already, and as much at large as the design'd Brevity of this Work admits of.

I T remains to enquire what we have to expect of them for the future, and in particular, who we may expect to see at any time hereafter; which of them may visit us for the time to come, and which [sig.I6^b] may not, or can not be reasonably expected; and this I shall do with the same Clearness if possible, and in very few Words.

O F the four Kinds of Spirit, then, let us consider the First and the Last.

F I R S T, G O D, the Soul and Life, the Being of all *Spirit*, has appear'd, as I have said; but we are to expect him *no more*: I do not say he cannot appear before us, but I believe I may say he has determined to bless the World with no more such glorious Exhibitions, no more personal Appearances of the Eternal Face, 'till the most

glorious Appearance spoken of in Scripture, *Tit. ii. 13.*
Looking for the blessed Hope and the glorious appearing
of the G R E A T G O D -----

S E C O N D L Y, The dismiss'd, departed, unembodied
Spirits, which we call Souls of Men, whether happy or
miserable, can by no means appear among us; all
Apparition of that Kind is fictitious and imaginary;
never was practicable, except once by Miracle, and never
can again be practicable, and therefore is not to be
expected. We are told indeed, that once, on the
extraordinary Occasion of the Resurrection of Christ, and
to honour that Resurrection with a Miracle of the most
sublime Nature, *the Graves were opened, and the Bodies of*
*the Saints arose and appeared*¹, &c. The Word is they
Arose, and came out of their Graves after the
Resurrection, *Mat. xxvii. 53.* I might enlarge upon the
Nature of this Apparition of the Saints which slept; the
manner of it, and especially the Reason of it, and shew
you how it was really miraculous, and done to convince
the doubting Disciples of the Truth of the Resurrection,
which some of them, being perhaps originally *Sadduces*,
might still question; but my Business is with an Age not
too much delighted in serious Excursions, so I must not
make any Trespass, however seasonable, or turn grave,
however useful. [sig.I7^d]

L E T it then be sufficient to the Purpose, this Apparition of Souls was extraordinary and miraculous, and we are to expect them no more; their State is determined, the happy are too happy, and their Happiness is too firmly fix'd, to suffer any such Interruption; the Unhappy have their Confinement too firmly fix'd, to break Prison, and get out; in a word, these cannot, and the other would not if they could; and we are not to expect to see or hear from them any more on this Earth; 'till the Restitution of all things, and 'till they shall be summon'd to that grand Appearance, which we believe will one Day happen, whatever our flaming Age pretend to say to the contrary.

A L L Apparition then of these two Heads or Species being concluded impossible in Nature, and not to be expected, we must look for it then among the Angelick Spirits; and here indeed it is to be found: Angels of all the Kinds have appear'd, may and do appear, and of them alone are all the Apparitions, which have any Reality in them, form'd.

T H I S is bringing the Matter into a narrow Compass, and putting an end to Cavil and Quarrel about it; there is no need to wrangle upon it any more; but when you at any time see an Apparition, or Appearance of Spirit assuming Shape and Voice, and you are sure it is really an Apparition, not a *Deceptio Visus*², a Cloud, a Vapour

of the Imagination; I say, whenever you see such an Apparition, depend upon it; 'tis an Angel, or a Devil.

I H A V E only one Distinction to make here, which tho' it be necessary, shall be very short and clear, viz. That when I speak of Angels I must be understood as follows,

F I R S T, The Word Angel is to be understood of good Angels; for the Devils, as I have said, are also Angels: Satan is called an Angel of Light: [sig.I7^b] but evil Angels I shall always treat with their new Sirname, Devil; so that when I speak of Angels, I am always to be understood of the good Angles.

S E C O N D L Y, But of good Angels, these I distinguish also in two Kinds:

(1.) T H E Angels which are actually in Heaven, such as we read of, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and others not distinguished by Name; these have appeared amongst Men, upon this Earth, as I have also said before at large; but even these, we have Reason to believe, we shall see no more; God having pleased to discover himself to his People now in another Way, by another Ministration, namely, by his Spirit, and by an Evangelick, not an Angelick Ministry.

(2.) T H A T Rank of Angels or Spirits, call them as we please, (and whether inferior or not, we are not to determine,) who are plac'd by the Direction of God

himself in a nearer Situation to us; plac'd, I say, by their Maker, under his superior Providence, for the Direction and Conduct of human Creatures, and of their Affairs, or at least to Guard them from the Invasions, Threatning, and Hellish Designs of the Prince of Darkness and his Angels; and these, as I said, might well be call'd Guardian Angels to the whole Earth.

N O W, these two sorts of Spirits, viz. the Guardian Angels, the good Spirits detach'd, as I may and did call it, from Heaven, to have the Inspection over, and Care of his new Creation, as well here as elsewhere; these, and the Devils, that other sort of Angel, of whom I may have Occasion to speak (more than a great deal) in this Work; These, I say, may, and do appear, and all Apparition is really between them; all Spirit you can speak of, or pretend to see the Appearance of, must be one of these two, must be Angel or Devil, there is no other, there [sig.I8^a] can be no other: Miracle, and something more than miraculous, and Things which we have no Reason to look for, only excepted.

B U T on the other hand, as certain as that no other Spirit does, or can, and as certainly as they do not, or cannot appear; so as certain, and past dispute is it, that these Spirits, both good and bad, do appear to us upon all Occasions; I mean all Occasions which they judge needful, and which happens to them, whether by choice or

constraint. It is not indeed in us to determine how they are mov'd to go upon these Errands, or in what manner; I may perhaps give some probable Opinions about the Manner and Causes both of their Mission and Permission; for I take those two Heads to contain the Regulation of their Actings; I say *Commission* and *Permission*, and without these we are sure never to be visited in this manner, either by one or other.

I T is true that this gives a considerable Sanction to the Thing call'd Apparition in general, and makes it appear to be more solemn than we are willing to make it; for by this Rule, neither *Devil* or *Angel* appears but upon some extraordinary Occasion; and if it be so, I do not see why we should like it the worse; for if they were to shew themselves upon every trifling Occasion, they would either terrifie Mankind so as to make the World intollerable to him, or familiarise themselves so as not to be regarded.

N O W as it would be the *Devil*, not the good Spirits, that would thus haunt the World upon Trifles; (for the other cannot be supposed to do it) so they would carry on the Familiarity too far, and Men would be so far from being frightened and terrified at him, that in short their would be more Danger in the Intimacy; and, as we say in another [sig.I8^b] Case, Mankind and the *Devil* might be too well acquainted.

B U T first to the Fact, that these Spirits, both good and bad, D O thus A P P E A R; and then to the Reason of it. That they do appear, the History, Experience, and Report of all Ages confirm it; they always have, and still do. The Appearances of Spirits are confirmed many ways, History is full of Examples; and sacred History itself, tho' it does not give Relation of particular Apparitions, yet confirms the thing, as a Reality, and out of Question.

C H R I S T himself, after his Resurrection, seeing his Disciples frightened and terrified at his Appearance, takes a great deal of Pains to convince them that he was not a Spirit or Apparition, as they feared: *Luke xxiv. 37. They were terrified and affrighted, and suppos'd that they had seen a Spirit.* This would be what it is too dishonourable to say of the sacred Writ, if Apparition of Spirit in the Shape of Body did never come, and that there were no such thing in Nature.

S E E then what our blessed Lord says to them upon it, *v. 39. Behold my Hands and Feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a Spirit hath no Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have.* This is as direct and positive as any thing of its kind can be supposs'd, or desir'd to be. If there were no such things as Spirits appearing, how could Jesus Christ have expressed himself in such a manner? the Language is plain, You think you see a Spirit, that is an

Apparition, and you may have some Reasons for your Apprehension, because I came in thus unseen, when the Door was shut: Now a Spirit may indeed assume a Shape, and look like the Person it appears for; but if you were to come near to it, you would find a Spirit, an Apparition, has only the Appearance, *it has not Flesh and Bones as [sig.K1^a] you see me have*: Therefore I am not a Spectre or Apparition, but a real Body.

S O when he came walking upon the Sea to his Disciples, and they were so frightened that they cried out, believing they had seen a Spirit; it must be out of Question that there were such things, and that they, the Disciples, had heard of them; nay, perhaps, they had seen such Apparitions themselves before that; why else should they be so frightened as to cry out, *Matth. xiv. 26. And when the Disciples saw him walking on the Sea, they were troubled, saying, It is a Spirit; and they cried out for fear.* And why, when our Saviour spoke to them, did he not reprove them for being frightened at their own Imagination, and fancy, (like Children,) that they saw a Spirit, when there were no such things in the World, and no Apparitions to be seen?

O N the other hand he speaks kindly to them, knowing that Apparitions are frightful Things to People not used to see them, and bids them *be of good Cheer*, it is not a Spirit, *it is I, be not afraid*; 'tis no Apparition, but

myself in reality. So also you have the Story, *Mark vi.*
50.

A G A I N, you have a perfect Description of an Apparition in the very manner we are just now discoursing about it, *Job iv. 15, 16. Then a Spirit passed before my Face, the Hair of my Flesh stood up. It stood still, but I could not discern the Form thereof: an Image was before mine Eyes, there was silence, and I heard a Voice. Eliphaz was a Man of Sense, he was not deluded to speak of Things not in Being, he saw an Apparition, not a Fancy.*

A G A I N, *Joshua* saw an Apparition, as I mention'd once before, *Josh. v. 13. A Man with a drawn Sword in his Hand. This was an Angel, that is to say a Spirit, and yet it spoke to him, and had the Shape of a Man in Arms, with a Sword in his [sig.K1^b] Hand. Had Joshua offer'd to touch it, or been permitted to touch it, he would not have found it had Flesh and Bones; we have our Saviour's Words for it, A Spirit has not F L E S H and B O N E S; an Apparition is a Spirit assuming a Shape of Flesh and Blood, but without the Reality.*

A N D this Answers all those fanciful People who say to us, that they saw such or such a Person: I saw him, says the Ignorant frightened Visionist, perfectly! I know him well enough! I am sure 'twas him! I saw him plainly! Hence they conclude it must be the Soul of such a Person,

because, say they, it had his very Countenance and his Cloaths on: nay, riding on the same Horse as he us'd to ride on: when the truth of the Case is this, the Man is dead, his Body rotting in the Grave, his Soul carried into the remote Regions of eternal Felicity or Horror unalterable, and that immoveable, as to returning this Way: his Cloaths that were seen, are lying in the Chest, or the Press, where they usually lay, and the poor Horse grasing in the Field, or perhaps quiet in the Stable, and not at all disturb'd. All that is to be said, the good Angel that perhaps had some secret Commission to the Relict or Remains of the Man's Family; to give them Notice of some Evil, to warn, to admonish, &c. assumes the Shape and Appearance of the Man himself, cloaths himself in his Likeness, forms the Apparition in Air, of his Cloaths, his Countenance, his Horse, as a Painter cloathes the Cloth he paints on with Faces, Postures, Habits, Garments, all in Colours, while the passive Person represented is no way affected with, or concerned in the Draught representing him.

A N D why should not this Spirit, thus commission'd to go on such an Errand, be able to amuse us with the Appearance of a Person departed; taking up his Shape, Countenance, Cloaths, &c. [sig.K2^a] tho' the Soul of the Person is not affected with, or concern'd in it? when it is known that we often see Apparitions of Persons living,

whom we see and speak to, and converse with; know their Faces, their Voices, their Cloaths; and yet the Persons themselves know nothing of the matter.

I H A V E by me a very diverting History³ upon this Subject, which I shall abridge for the present purpose, as follows, viz.

A C E R T A I N young Lady of ----- born in the County of ----- had been long courted by a young Gentleman, whose Father had a very good Estate in the same Town: she had kept him Company too openly, but had not yielded to his Importunities for a criminal Conversation, tho' her Reputation suffer'd for it as if she had; but at length she was so far over-persuaded, that she made an Appointment to be at such a time at a Farmer's House, a Tenant of his Father's, and who were, it seems, let into the wicked Secret. Accordingly she dresses herself up with the best of her Art, to recommend herself (to the Devil, I may say;) and away she goes to meet him, having her Servant Maid to attend her, because it was over some Fields that she was to go.

W H E N she was near the House she finds some Excuse or Errand to send back her Maid to the Town; the Wench, it seems, not being privy to the Business.

A S she turns about to dismiss her Maid, the Maid offer'd to go farther 'till she was nearer the House; but her Mistress sees the Minister of the Town coming along

the Path, and making that Excuse, O, says she, there's our Minister, Dr. ----- coming, so I shall have his Company; you may go back, Mary, I shall be safe enough.

T H E Maid sees the Minister also, and goes back accordingly. [sig.K2^b]

A S soon as the Minister came up to her, (for he seem'd to overtake her presently) he gives her the usual Compliment, and asks her how she came to be in the Fields alone?

S H E answer'd she had not been alone, but having Occasion to send back her Maid, she dismiss'd her sooner because she saw him coming; and besides, says she, I am going but to that House there, naming the Farmer's Name.

O, M A D A M, says the Doctor, are you going thither? then I know your Errand.

S H E was surpriz'd and blush'd, but recovering a little, What Errand Sir? says she

W H Y, Madam, says he, it may not be proper for me to name the Business; but you know it well enough.

W H A T d'ye mean Sir? says she. I don't understand you.

W H Y, says he, your Favorite the young Esquire is there before you.

S H E was terribly surprized then, and could hardly speak to him, being touch'd with Shame and Indignation; supposing the young Gentleman had boasted of her Favours

before he had receiv'd them, and had betray'd her: however, she made still strange of it: and having, it may be suppos'd, conquer'd her Modesty so far as to make a Promise or Appointment to sacrifice her Virtue to him, she might the easier conquer the Surprize; so she seemed to slight it.

B U T, Madam, says the Minister, if you would take my Advice ----and there he stop'd.

W H A T Advice, Sir? says she. I don't understand what you mean.

W H Y, I wou'd advise you to go back to the Town again; and not go into the way of Mischief. [sig.K3^d]

S H E still withstood, and put him off with the usual Answer, I don't understand you; what do ye mean? and the like; but at last the Minister raising his Voice a little, like to that of a stern Reprover,

C O M E, come, young Lady, says he, you can't conceal your wicked Purposes; you have made Mr. ----- an Appointment; he prevail'd on you last Night, and you have now deck'd yourself up with your Ornaments to meet him, and prostitute your Virtue, and your Honour, and you Conscience, all to his corrupt vicious Appetite; and I know it, you may see that I do; my Advice to you is to go back and break your wicked Promise, and repent that you made it. I shall give him the same Advise presently.

I F she was surpriz'd before, she was confounded now, partly with Horror at the Fact itself, which now she was struck a little with the Sense of; and partly, but Tenfold more, with the Shame of its being known. It put her into such Confusion, that at first she could not answer a Word; but after a-while she said, If you know the Gentleman is there, Sir, I shall not go, especially since you have such hard Thoughts of me: and upon saying this she turns about and goes directly back again, and the Minister went from her towards the House. As the Farmer liv'd but a very little way from the Place where she stood talking with him, she look'd behind her and saw him go into the House, and the Door shut after him.

A N Y one will suppose upon this shock to her Design, and being not only disappointed in her wicked Pleasures, but expos'd and betray'd, as she imagin'd, by her Lover; she went directly home without any stay, and there gave vent to her Passions with the utmost Rage, and with all the Resentment that such base Treatment could inspire her with. [sig.K3^b]

T H E Gentleman, on the other hand, being extremely disappointed, and not knowing what could be the reason of it, after he had waited a long time, came back to see what was the Matter, believing she must be taken ill, or that something had happen'd very extraordinary.

W H E N he came to the House, (she liv'd it seems with an Aunt, whose Husband was also dependent upon the young Gentleman's Father,) he enquir'd for his Mistress; but her Maid brought him Word, that she could not be spoken with.

T H A T Answer not being satisfactory, and having refus'd to be answered with two or three more such Excuses, at last she sent him Word plainly, that she had nothing to say to him; and that she not only would not see him now, but never see him more.

S U R P R I Z'D with this, and not able to guess the Meaning of it, he goes away; but the next Morning writes her a very civil obliging Letter, wherein, among abundance of the usual Expression of Lovers, he begs to know what he had done, that should merit such Treatment, and that she would let him into so much at least of the Causes of her Displeasure, as should put him in a way to clear himself; protesting that he knew not the least Step he had taken to disoblige her, except in punctually attending her Appointment; and having the Mortification of sitting five Hours by himself, in Expectation of her Company.

I N Answer to his, she sent him a long Letter, full of Reproaches for his vile Usage of her, drawing her into a sinful, shameful Compliance with him, and then exposing her, and triumphing over her Weakness; making her with

one hand the pretended Object of his Amour, and with the other the Sport of his Companions. She upbraided him with telling her that he sat five Hours alone, [sig.K4^a] whereas he had much better Company than she could have been; seeing the good Doctor, who had admonished her not to expose her self in meeting him, had given him the same good Advice that he had done to her, and so had not made so bad a use of his Treachery in betraying her, as he expected.

S H E concluded with telling him, 'twas her Happiness that this came to her Knowledge, before she had thrown her self into the Arms of a Traitor; and tho' he had done her the Injustice to boast of her Weakness, she thank'd God, he triumph'd when he gain'd but half a Victory; that she was infinitely beholden to him for her Deliverance, and that it was the only Obligation he had laid upon her.

I F I could give you the Entertainment of all the Letters that pass'd between them, while they were both under the Amusement of the mysterious Part, and perfectly ignorant of the Occasion, and then add the Surprize of the Discovery, it would make two Acts of a good Comedy; but I must shorten the Story as much as I can.

H E was so surpriz'd with this Answer from his Mistress, that he could not tell what to make of it, and especially those Paragraphs which related to the good Doctor's admonishing her, and being in his Company; all

which as he had really known nothing of it, so there was no guessing at the meaning of it. 'Twas impossible so much as to have the least Notion about it; 'twas all Confusion and Darkness, and without the least Meaning that he could come at. In a word, abundance of Letters pass'd between them, but still she continu'd using him after the same manner, talk'd the same style, about his betraying her, and that he acted the very Part of the *Devil*, first to tempt, and then to accuse; first to draw her in with a thousand Importunities, and then expose her for complying. She reproach'd [sig.K4^b] him with the many Sollicitations and Protestations of Affection, and appeal'd to him to testifie, whether he had made an easie Conquest, and whether she had not *so long* withstood his most incessant Assaults; challeng'd him to tell her how long he had besieg'd her, and whether she had yielded at last but on an honourable Capitulation, tho' unhappily she had granted Possession without the due Securities. She ask'd him why, when he triumph'd over her Honour, he had not so much Generosity to own what they Treaty had cost him, and how long it was before he had gain'd that little he had to boast of?

H E protested at large, that he was perfectly surpriz'd at the whole Affair, understood not one Word of it, could not dive into her Meaning, abhorr'd the Thought of what she charg'd him with; and at last very warmly insisted

upon her explaining her self, and that otherwise, as she did him so much Injustice, he would do himself Justice; for he heard she made it too publick, and that tho' he had not done it yet, being tender of her Character, yet he could not bear to be treated in this manner, and not know something of the Reason of it.

A T last he press'd her to let him but speak with her; which, tho' it was long before she would grant, yet she did consent to it at last, lest he should expose her.

A T this Interview they began to come to an Understanding; she own'd that she was coming to the Place, but that she saw the Minister go in just before her, which made her go back again; but she did not tell him a Word of her seeing the Minister on the Way.

H E protested there was no Minister came to him, or into the House; and afterwards brought the People of the House to testifie the same; that he sat all the while in the Parlour reading a Book, and that no Creature came near him, nor so much as to the Door. [sig.K5^d]

T H I S startl'd her; and at last, with much Importunity, she told him the whole Story of her meeting with the Doctor in the Fields; and, in a word, how the Doctor told her where she was going, and to who; that he was there waiting for her; and, which confounded her worse than all, had told her what she was going about;

adding, that she had made the Promise the Night before, and that he, meaning the Gentleman, and told him so.

N. B. In this Part she was mistaken; the Doctor said *he had been told of it as soon as she had made the Promise*, and as she in her Surprize understood it, that he said the Gentleman told him.

H E was so full of this heavy Charge, and himself in every Part so clear of it, that it was impossible he should sit still with it. He knew not what to make of it, he knew very well that he had never open'd his Mouth to any one, Man, Woman, or Child about it; that the Farmer, or any of his Family, knew not a Word of it, only that he was to meet her there, as they had frequently done before, and innocently enough; and he could not suppose she should be so weak to talk of it her self; so that he could not yet imagine what it could be.

A F E W Days furnish'd him with the Opportunity to talk with the Minister himself, who came frequently to his Father's House; and being one Day very free with him, he jested with him, for hindring him of two or three Hours of very good Company.

T H E Doctor answer'd him, he should be very sorry to be guilty of any thing so rude, and desir'd to know how it could be.

W H Y, Doctor, says he, we were with some Friends very merry at such a House; (insinuating that there was more Company;) and such a Lady, says he, (naming her,) was coming to us, and you met her, and persuaded her to go back again. [sig.K5^b] [insert plate]

S I R, says the Doctor, I have only one Satisfaction in the whole Story, and that is, that it cannot be true, as I shall soon satisfie you.

N A Y Doctor, says the Gentleman, I don't tell it you as of my own Knowledge.

N O Sir, says the Doctor, and I should have not so little Respect as to tell you it was false, if you had told it to me as of your own Knowledge.

B U T do you assure me, says the Gentleman, that it is not true?

I D O assure you, says the Doctor, upon my Word, that I know nothing of it.

W H Y, Doctor, says the Gentleman, do you give me your Word that you did not meet her in the Fields, next to Farmer Gi-----'s House on the eleventh Day of the very last Month, being August? for I have it all down in black and white * here.

* He pulls out his Pocket-Book, and looks for the Day of the Month.

N O T only not that Day, says the Doctor, but I never saw her in those Fields, or any other Fields, in my Life.

W H Y, you surprize me Doctor, *says the Gentleman*; it is impossible.

I A P P E A L to the Lady her self, *says the Doctor*.

N A Y, Doctor, *says the Gentleman*, if you appeal to her, you must be cast; for I will swear she told me so her self.

T H I S confounded the Doctor for a little while, but he presently recover'd himself; Sir, *says he*, I was going to desire of you, that we might wait upon Mrs.----- together, and that I might hear it from her self; but upon recollecting all the Circumstances, I am very happy in one thing, namely, that let her say so her self, and forty Ladies more, I can prove to you, that it is impossible it should be true.

T H A T will indeed put an End to it all, *says the Gentleman*; but how can you do that? [sig.K6^a]

W H Y, Sir, *says the Doctor*, are you sure she does not give you a wrong Day?

N O, no, *says the Gentleman*, I have a Reason why it can't be a Mistake of the Day, for I have a Memorandum of that Day upon a remarkable * Occasion.

* *He had set it down in his Book upon the Occasion of his being disappointed.*

A N D it is not the Lady's Mistake then, *says the Doctor*; for you know Women are not always the exactest in

their Accounts of Days, nor Months, unless it be on worse Accounts than I believe you were to meet about.

W E L L, Doctor, *says the Gentleman*, but I am sure of the Day, for I have it in my Book.

N A Y, if it was mistaken a Day or two, *says the Doctor*, it matters not; for, as I said before, I never saw her in the Field in my Life; or if I might see her among other People, I am sure I never spoke to her. But beside Sir, I tell you, this cannot be true, for I was at London all that last Month 'til the 2⁷th Day, so that 'tis impossible.

H E R E the Discourse necessarily broke off: the Gentleman was loth to discover his Surprize, but told him he would enquire farther into it; and upon that he goes immediately back to the Lady, reproaches her a little with her forming such a Story to pick a Quarrel; but not telling her he had been with the Minister at all; only, as he might easily know by other Circumstances, that the Doctor was out of Town, he told her, that he would not have charg'd her with such a thing in such harsh Terms, if he was not, upon looking back a little upon things, come to a Certainty, that it was not only false, but that it was impossible to be true.

T H E Y had a long Dialogue upon that Head; and as he did not presently tell her the Circum- [sig.K6^b] stances, thinking he had a little Advantage upon her, he jested

with her pretty smartly upon it, seem'd to laugh that she would first put such a Sham upon him, and then to tell such a formal Story to make it good, and to excuse her Breach of Promise, and that not a Word of Truth should be in it.

S H E receiv'd this making a Jest of it with Disdain, and told him she began now to discover what a kind of a Man she was so near being ruin'd by; and that she had been in good Hands indeed, that could pretend to banter her thus; that she should have been finely us'd, if the good Minister had not been sent from Heaven to save her from being doubly undone.

H E told her she was soon angry; but it touch'd her home; however Madam, say he, you shan't slander the good Man, for he had no hand in it.

W E L L, well, says she, I can better laugh at you for that Folly, than I should have done for something too vile to name, if I had fallen into your Hands: For, says she, I had too much Reason to say now, that I was sure to have been both betray'd, and expos'd.

H E said she grew scurrilous, and went from one Story to another; that she told him a false Story, and wanted to drop it; he desir'd her to stick to one thing, and go through that first.

S H E colour'd, and raising her Voice, told him it was below a Gentleman to give a Woman the Lie; that she

believ'd, if she had been a Man, he durst not have said so to her.

H E told her she was mad, and that she happen'd to speak a false thing, and was in a Rage because she could not come off it.

S H E told him, he show'd her again that he was no Gentleman; that if he gave her *the Lie* again she would spit in his Face; and that if he would furnish her with a Sword, she would do her self [sig.K7^a] justice, and give him Satisfaction as fairly as if she was a Man; and that for his giving her the Lie, she threw it back in his Face, he might make the best of it.

T H A T'S Gallantly done, *says he*, Madam indeed, there's a Sword for you; and offers her his own, laying it down upon the Table before her.

Y O U an't even with me yet, *says she*; I scorn as much to take up a Sword against a Naked Man; as you ought to have scorn'd, if you had been a Gentleman, to give *the Lie* to a Woman.

H E began now to find that she was too hard for him; but he came back to the Question.

W E L L Madam, *says he*, will you own your self in the wrong, if I prove to you what I said just now, that what you charge me with not only is false, but can't be true?

A Y, ay, *says she*, what can't be true must be false; but what does that do for you?

W E L L, *says he*, will you venture so much upon it
as-----

H E R E she interrupted him with some warmth: *says she*,
I'll venture my Life upon it.

N O Madam, not your Life, *says he*, you shall only
oblige your self to perform your Promise, if I do prove
it; and I'll promise never to ask you more, if I do not.

I C A N 'T go that length again, to save Life; but
I'll freely consent to die any Death in the World, that
is not by lingering Torture, if you can do it.

W H Y then Madam, *says he*, you know our Appointment was
such a Day: so he reckon'd up the Days to her, 'till she
understood the Calculation, and agreed that it was so.

W E L L, it was such a Day, *says she*, and that Day I
saw and talk'd with the Doctor in such a place. [sig.K7^b]

W E L L Madam, *says he*, and that Day, and all that part
of the Month for several Days both before and after it,
the Doctor was at London, I remember it, and you shall
know it by very good Circumstances, such as cannot be
deny'd. I know it by several Particulars.

H E R E he related to her several Circumstances, as if
he knew them by his own Affairs, not letting her know at
all that he had seen the Doctor and talk'd with him about
it.

S H E laught at him at first, and told him, that he had
been too old for her before; but she was too old for this

now: that she might be imposed upon in many things; but when she saw a Man that she knew, and had known from a Child, and talk'd with a Man she had talk'd to a thousand times, and had heard Preach for almost fifteen Years, he must not think to run her down with Words: that she assur'd him 'twas so, and there was an end of the thing.

W E L L Madam, *says he*, and you pretend he came to the House too while I was there? How do you pretend to prove that?

O N L Y, *says she*, that I stood still with my Eyes open, saw him at the Door, saw little *Jacky G-----s*, the Farmer's Son, open the Door to him, make him a Bow, saw the Doctor go in, saw the Door shut to again when he was in; that is all, *says she*, and smil'd.

W E L L, *says he*, I can only say this, I will have the bottom of it out; for I will not be charg'd guilty of using you ill, while I know nothing of it.

N O, no, *says she*, I don't say I'm us'd ill, I am us'd well, very well: and here she puts on an Air of Satisfaction, and sings⁴,

To flee from the Devil's, to bid him pursue;

And he certainly needs no inviting:

[sig.K8^a]

But if you assail, he will quickly turn Tail,

For the Devil was never for fighting.

*The Devil can tempt, but he cannot compel;
He can wheedle, delude, and invite us;
But never would he fill up his Quota's in Hell
If he only should Bully and Fright us.*

*But when once we're got out of his Clutches,
He rages and roars like a Bull:
His Malice and Emptiness such is,
And yet he's of Venom so full.*

*The way then to deal with the Devil,
Is at his own Weapons to fight him:
When he sets up his Roar, provoke him the more,
And let him but see that you slight him.*

*For the Devil's a Coward in Nature,
A pitiful sorry Poltroon^s;
If you take but the Whip, he'll give you the Slip;
And before you can lash him, he'll run.*

H E R Singing put him into a Passion; for he took her Song of the Devil to mean himself; and he told her 'twas a scandalous Fiction of her own, and she should hear more of him; and so offered to go out.

S H E bad him do his worst, and made him a Curtsy, as if she had suppos'd he had just been going away; and now she laught outright at him.

B U T he cou'd not go away yet; he told her he would not have her expose her self, that she ought not to use him so, and she would but force him to make her ashamed of it. [sig.K8^b]

S H E told him it was good Advice, to bid her not expose her self, and she had the more need of it; because he had exposed her so much already.

T H E N he told her he would bring the Farmer and all his Family to her, to prove that the Doctor had not been there that Day, nor for five Months before; and the Boy should testify that he never saw him, nor open'd the Door, nor let him in.

W E L L Sir, *says she*, now you come close to the Point; pray let all this be done: But let me ask you one thing to think of as you go on; Do you think that I know Doctor ----- our Minister?

Y E S Madam, *says he*, I believe you know him well enough, and that makes me wonder at you the more.

W E L L, and do you think my Maid *Mary* knows him? *says she*.

Y E S, *says he*, I believe she does; for she was born in the Town.

W E L L, *says she*, then I have one Witness of my side;
you shall hear what she says.

W H Y Madam, *says he*, was *Mary* with you?

Y O U shall hear presently, *says she*.

So she rings a little Bell, and in comes her Maid.

Mist. *Mary*, don't you remember you walk'd out into the
Field with me one Day last Month?

Ma. W H A T, when you went to Farmer *Gi-----'s*, Madam,
and sent me back again?

Mist. Y E S; don't you remember you would fain a gone
further?

Ma. Y E S Madam, I was afraid you should go over the
last Field alone.

Mist. B U T what did I say to you, *Mary*?

Ma. W H Y you would make me go back; by the same Token
we saw our Minister Dr.----- a coming after us, and you
said the Doctor would [sig.L1^d] see you safe; and so I
came away contented when I saw him.

Mist. A R E you sure 'twas the Doctor, *Mary*?

Ma. S U R E, Madam! yes: why he spoke to me.

Mist. W H A T did he say to you?

Ma. H E said, How d'ye do Mrs. *Mary*? and touch'd his
Hat, just as he us'd to do.

W E L L Sir, *says she*, then you see I wa'n't drunk, nor
did I walk in my Sleep. If it were convenient I would

send for the Doctor this Minute, and he should tell you what he said to me.

C O N V E N I E N T or not convenient, *says he*, I'll send for him, or go to him, for I will find it out: and then he swore a little.

T H A T's much about as kind as all the rest, *says she*; rather expose any body than your self; but do your worst, *the Snare is broken and I am escap'd*, 'twill expose your self at last.

C O M E Madam, *says he*, you shall see I can talk it with the Doctor, and that before your Face; and yet he shall know nothing of the matter.

I K N O W a little too much of that, *says she*; he know nothing of it ! and then she smil'd.

T H I S put him almost out of all Temper, and he gave her ill Words again; and at last added the whole Story, and told her downright, that he had talk'd with the Doctor already; and that he solemnly protested he knew nothing of it, and had never seen or spoken with her for so long time, naming the time when he spoke last to her; likewise he told her what the Doctor said of having been at *London* all those three Weeks when this happen'd.

S H E begun to be amaz'd, and a little confounded at this; but recovering her self, she told him, that if the Doctor was there himself, she had a direct answer to give

him, for she was not a Papist to believe a Priest against her own Senses. [sig.L1^b]

W H A T answer can you give, Madam, says *he*, when the Doctor shall prove by twenty Witnesses, if need were, that he was at *London*, almost a hundred Mile off, all the while?

W H Y my Answer would be this, that 'twas either he or the *Devil*.

W E L L then it was the *Devil*, says *he*; I won't dispute that with you, Madam.

N O, no, say *she*, I can satisfie you that it could not be the *Devil*; I can convince you; you will acknowledge it presently: Do you think the *Devil* would have turn'd me back again, when he knew the dreadful Errand I was going on?

N A Y, says *he calmly*, I confess that's the best thing you have said yet; who then cou'd it be? says *he*; for 'tis plain it could not be the Doctor.

T H E N, says *she*, it must be some heavenly Appearance in the Doctor's Cloaths, for I knew not his Face and his Voice only, but his very Gown; and if it was a good Angel, I have the more reason to be thankful that he hindered me from running into the Arms of the *Devil*: and with that she fell a crying, she could hold out no longer.

W E L L, they parted after this Scuffle, for he was a little daunted himself.

B U T my Story does not end here; for a little while after something happen'd that explain'd all the rest: The Lady had a Visit to pay at a Neighbor's House, who liv'd a little out of the Town, only over one little Enclosure, which she was oblig'd to cross: Now as she was going over that Close or Enclosure, who should she meet but the Doctor again; and she saw him a good while before he came up to her.

S H E was surpriz'd as seeing him; and if she could have avoided him she would: but 'twas impossible. When he came up to her, he pull'd off his Hat very courteously, and immediately began to [sig.L2^d] discourse of what he had said to her before; but took no Notice at all of its having been deny'd.

S I R, *says she*, I have been very ill us'd upon that Day's Work.

I K N O W it, *says he*, I know it, repeating the Words: But your Innocence shall be cleared up, I will do it myself; do you be thankful that you escap'd the Snare: And so, giving her no time to answer, he pass'd by her without taking any farewell: which being a little Particular, made her turn her Head to look at him: But tho' it was in the middle of the Field, which was too large for him to be out of it if he had flown as swift as

a Pidgeon, (for it was not above a Moment, not a Second of Time) he was gone, and she saw nothing.

S H E was exceedingly surpriz'd, and ready to sink into the Ground; she was so frightened that she could not help sitting down even upon the Grass; for her Joints trembled under her, so that she could not stand.

I T happened that a poor Woman of the Town came cross the Close at the very juncture, and knowing her, she call'd to her to come and help her up. She did not tell the Woman what had happen'd to her, but that she was taken with a fit of trembling, and that if she had not sat down she must have fallen down; all which was true: so the poor Woman help'd her up, and led her home, where she continued very ill of the Fright for several Days.

I N this time she had a very great desire to see the Gentleman, for by what the Apparition said to her she made no doubt he had seen it too.

A F T E R some til he heard that she was very ill, and thinking what he had said to her might have had some influence upon her, to hurt her, he resolv'd to go and see her; for tho' he had ruffled her pretty much; yet, as he said afterwards, [sig.L2^b] he lov'd her very well; and the better for her so seasonably recovering her Virtue and good Principles; and much better than he believ'd he should have done, if he had had his Will of her, as he

should certainly have had, if she had met him that time at the Farmer's.

W I T H these kind Thoughts he went to visit her; and tho' she was very ill, yet she would be brought out of her Chamber to see him.

A F T E R some Civilities, he frankly told her the reason of his Visit word for word as above, and that he came to cheer her up a little.

S H E thank'd him; but told him it was true it had extremely troubled her, to think first how near she had been to utter Ruin, and then how needlessly she had been expos'd for it; and that tho' she had no Guilt, as he very well knew, other than that which was in the first wicked Consenting; yet she had been as much expos'd, as if she had been really his Whore.

H E protested to her that he never had opened his Lips of it to the Doctor, or any one else; and that it was the Resentment at the charging him with it, that made him so angry, and nothing else; for that he scorn'd any thing so base.

S H E told him it was impossible for any one to believe otherwise before; but that she believ'd he was satisfied how it all was, now; and that something had happen'd since, which had open'd her Eyes, tho' it had almost kill'd her; and she believ'd he knew something of it too.

H E wanted to know what it was, for he protested he knew nothing. What *says he*, is there any more Mysteries?

S H E said, she could not tell him, because she supposs'd he would not believe her.

H E answer'd, he would believe her in every thing, that he ought to believe any body in. [sig.L3^d]

S H E told him, she believ'd there would be no occasion to tell him, for that she did not doubt but he would be inform'd the same way that she was, if he was not already.

H E importun'd her earnestly to let him know what it was; and that with such a serious kind of Discourse, that she fancy'd he had seen something too; but it seems he had not: However he entreated her so much, that at last she let him know the whole Story, as above.

T H E R E is a great deal more belongs to this Story, which would be very diverting, and not without its Uses too; but as the particular Relation does not come within the verge of my own Knowledge, I cannot vouch all the Particulars, at least not sufficiently.

H O W E V E R, 'tis enough to the Case in Hand: If the Apparition came to prevent this poor deluded young Lady from prostituting her self to a Man that had wheedled her in upon such dishonourable Terms; it could not certainly be the *Devil*, or any Spirit of his Case, or under his Government and Direction; he would never have exhorted

her to go back, reproach'd her with the Crime, and prevail'd upon her to believe it had been reveal'd to him by the Treachery of her Lover.

T H I S must be certainly one of those Angelick Guards which the God of Nature, in Mercy to Mankind, has placed as a detach'd Body of Spirits to counter-act the *Devil*, prevent the Arch-enemy seducing his Creatures, and overwhelming the World with Crime; and if the Story be as I have receiv'd it now and handed it down, it seems a merciful Disposition of Providence in Favour of the Gentleman, as well as the Lady; and be it a Parable or a History, the Moral is the same, and the Improvement of it the same too: They that are running the same Course of Folly would have Reason to be very thankful if they were sure to meet with the same kind of Disappointment, and would never say it was the *Devil* that told it them.

T H E Gentleman it seems did not slight the Story so much as she expected he would, nor did he question the Truth of any or every Part of it; for she had told it with so much Steadiness, always agreeing in every Particular, and gave so much concurring Accounts of the Circumstances as they related to what had happened before, that it was apparent 'twas no Delusion.

T H A T which made him most uneasy, was that the Apparition seem'd to promise to appear to him; and he had

no Desire to be convinc'd that way. Indeed the Story, at least so far as I have the Particulars, breaks off a little abruptly there and does not say whether he ever saw anything or no. But it said, it made him be quite another Man in his Way of living than ever he was before; and particularly he was very thankful that he had been prevented being so wicked with her as in all Probability he had been, if this had not happen'd.

N O W this Apparition, as is said above, could not with any manner of Reason, be supposed to be the *Devil*; for why should an *Evil Spirit* appear, to keep any Person from doing Evil? Why should it assume a real Shape, namely that of a Minister in his Gown and Cassock, and that it was in Appearance the very Minister of the Parish; for all she constantly affirm'd, and two things are natural Inferences from it.

F I R S T, That the Appearance was real.

S E C O N D L Y, That it was a good Spirit.

L E T the Divines read us Lectures upon the Nature of Spirits, and upon how far they can or cannot take Cognizance of human Affairs; That I have nothing to do with here; my Business is to observe the Matter of Fact, viz. that they do come [sig.L4^a] hither, do appear, and are seen, talk'd to and convers'd with, and that they do come on good Errands, and therefore are not likely to be evil Spirits or *Devils*.

T A K E another Historical Relation⁷, which, tho' I name no Names, I have very good Authority for the Truth of, and that more particularly than for the other.

A G E N T L E M A N of a very good Estate married a Lady of also a good Fortune, and had one Son by her, and one Daughter, and no more, and after a few Years his Lady died. He soon married a second Venter⁸; and his second Wife, tho' of an inferior Quality and Fortune to the former, took upon her to discourage and discountenance his Children by his first Lady, and made the Family very uncomfortable, both to the Children and to their Father also.

T H E first thing of Consequence which this Conduct of the Mother-in-Law produced in the Family, was that the Son, who began to be a Man, ask'd the Father's Leave to go abroad to travel. The Mother-in-Law, tho' willing enough to be rid of the young Man, yet because it would require something considerable to support his Expenses abroad, violently oppos'd it, and brought his Father also to refuse him, after he had freely given his Consent.

T H I S so affected the young Gentleman, that after using all the dutiful Application to his Father that he could possibly do, as well by himself as by some other Relations, but to no purpose; and being a little encouraged by an Uncle, who was Brother to his Mother,

his Father's first Lady, he resolv'd to go abroad without Leave, and accordingly did so.

W H A T Part of the World he travelled into I do not remember; it seems his Father had constant Intelligence from him for some time, and was prevail'd with to make a reasonable Al- [sig.L4^b] lowance for his Subsistence, which the young Gentleman always drew Bills for, and they were honourably paid; but after some time, the Mother-in-Law prevailing at home, one of his Bills of Exchange was refus'd, and being protested, was sent back without Acceptance; upon which he drew no more, nor did he write any more Letters, or his Father hear any thing from him for upwards of four Years, or thereabouts.

U P O N this long Silence, the Mother-in-Law made her Advantage several Ways; she first intimated to his Father that he must needs be dead; and consequently, his Estate should be settled upon her eldest Son, (for she had several Children.) His Father withstood the Motion very firmly, but the Wife harrass'd him with her Importunities; and she argued upon two Points against him, I mean the Son.

F I R S T, If he was dead, then there was no room to object, her Son being Heir at Law.

S E C O N D L Y, If he was not dead, his Behavior to his Father in not writing for so long a Time was inexcusable, and he ought to resent it, and settle the

Estate as if he were dead; that nothing could be more disobliging, and his Father ought to depend upon it that he was dead, and treat him as if he was so; for he that would use a Father so, should be taken for one dead, as to his filial Relation, and be treated accordingly.

H I S Father however stood out a long time, and told her that he could not answer it to his Conscience; that there might happen many things in the World, which might render his Son unable to write; that he might be taken by the *Turks*, and carried into Slavery; or he might be among the *Persians* or *Arabians* (which it seems was the Case) and so could not get any Letters convey'd; and that he could not be satisfied to disinherit him, [sig.L5^d] 'till he knew whether he had Reason for it or no, or whether his Son had offended him or no.

T H E S E Answers, however just, were far from stopping her Importunities, which she carried on so far, that she gave him no Rest, and it made an unquiet Family; she carried it very ill to him, and in a word, made her Children do so too; and the Gentleman was so wearied out with it, that once or twice he came to a kind of Consent to do it, but his Heart fail'd him, and then he fell back again, and refus'd.

H O W E V E R, her having brought him so near it, was an Encouragement to her to go on with her restless Sollicitations, 'till at last he came thus far to a

provisional Agreement, that if he did not hear from his Son by such a time, or before it, he would consent to a re-settling the Estate.

S H E was not well satisfied with the conditional Agreement, but being able to obtain no other, she was oblig'd to accept of it as 'twas; tho', as she often told him, she was far from being satisfied with it as to the Time, for he had fix'd it for four Years, as above.

H E grew angry at her telling him so, and answer'd, that she ought to be very well satisfied with it, for that it was time little enough, as his Son's Circumstances might be.

W E L L, she teiz'd him however so continually, that at last she brought him down to one Year: But before she brought him to that, she told him one Day in a Heat, that she hoped his Ghost would one time or other appear to him, and tell him, that he was dead, and that he ought to do Justice to his other Children, for he should never come to claim to his Estate.

W H E N he came, so much against his Will, to consent to shorten the time to one Year, he told her, that he hoped his Son's Ghost, tho' he was [sig.L5^b] not dead, would not come to her, and tell her he was alive, before the Time expired: For why, says he, may not injur'd Souls walk while embodied, as well as afterwards?

I T happen'd one Evening after this, that they had a most violent Family Quarrel upon the Subject, when on a sudden a Hand appeared at a Casement, endeavoring to open it; but as all the iron Casements, used in former Times, open'd outward, but hasp'd or fasten'd themselves in the Inside; so the Hand seem'd to try to open the Casement, but could not. The Gentleman did not see it, but his Wife did, and she presently started up, as if she was frightened, and forgetting the Quarrel they had upon their Hands, Lord bless me! *says she*, there are Thieves in the Garden. Her Husband ran immediately to the Door of the Room they sat in, and opening it, look'd out.

T H E R E'S no body in the Garden, *says he*; so he clapt the Door again, and came back.

I A M sure, *says she*, I saw a Man there.

I T must be the Devil then, *says he*, for I'm sure there's no body in the Garden.

I'L L swear, *says she*, I saw a Man put his Hand up to the open Casement; but finding it fast, and I suppose, *adds she*, seeing us in the Room, he walk'd off.

I T is impossible he could be gone, *says he*; did not I run to the Door immediately? and you know the Garden Walls on both sides hinder him going.

P R Y'T H E E, *says she angrily*, I a'nt drunk nor in a Dream, I know a Man when I see him, and 'tis not dark, the Sun is not quite down.

Y O U'R E only frightened with Shadows, says he, very full of Ill-nature: Folks generally are so that are haunted with an evil Conscience: it may be 'twas the Devil. [sig.L6^a]

N O, no, I'm not soon frightened, says she; if 'twas the Devil, 'twas the Ghost of your Son: it may be come to tell you he was gone to the Devil, and you might give your Estate to your eldest Bastard, since you won't settle it on your lawful Heir.

I F it was my Son, says he, he's come to tell us he's alive, I warrant you, and to ask you how you can be so much a Devil to desire me to disinherit him; and with those Words, Alexander, says he aloud, repeating it twice, starting up out of his Chair, if you are alive show your self, and don't let me be insulted thus every Day with your being dead.

A T those very Words, the Casement which the Hand had been seen at by the Mother, open'd of itself, and his Son Alexander look'd in with a full Face, and staring directly upon the Mother with an angry Countenance, cry'd Here, and then vanish'd in a Moment.

T H E Woman that was so stout before, shriek'd out in a most dismal manner, so as alarm'd the whole House; her Maid ran into the Parlour, to see what was the matter, but the Mistress was fainted away in her Chair.

S H E was not fallen upon the Ground, because it being a great easie Chair, she sunk a little back against the side of the Chair, and Help coming immediately in, they kept her up; but it was not 'till a great while after, that she recover'd enough to be sensible of any thing.

H E R Husband run immediately into the Parlour Door, and opening it went into the Garden, but there was nothing; and after that he run into another Door that open'd from the House into the Garden, and then to two other Doors which open'd out of his Garden, one into the Stable-yard, and another into the Field beyond the Garden, but found [sig.L6^b] them all fast shut and barr'd; but on one side was his Gardener, and a Boy, drawing the Rolling-stone⁹: he ask'd them if any body else had been in the Garden, but they both constantly affirmed no body had been there, and they were both rolling a Gravel-walk near the House.

U P O N this he comes back into the Room, sits him down again, and said not one Word for a good while; the Women and the Servants being busy all the while, and in a Hurry, endeavoring to recover his Wife.

A F T E R some time she recover'd so far as to speak, and the first Words she said,

L--d bless me! what was it?

N A Y, says her Husband, 'twas Alexander to be sure.

W I T H that she fell into a Fit, and skream'd and shriek'd out again most terribly.

H E R Husband not thinking that would have affected her, did what he could to persuade her out of it again; but that would not do, and they were oblig'd to carry her to Bed, and get some help to her; but she continued ill for several Days after.

H O W E V E R this put an end for some considerable time to her Sollicitations about his Disinheriting her Son-in-Law.

B U T Time, that hardens the Mind in cases of a worse Nature, wore this off also by degrees, and she began to revive the old Cause again, tho' not at first as eagerly as before.

N A Y he used her a little hardly upon it too, and if ever they had any Words about it he would bid her hold her Tongue, or that if she talk'd any more upon that Subject, he would call *Alexander* again to open the Casement.

T H I S aggravated Things much; and tho' it terrify'd her a great while, yet at length she was so [sig.L7^d] exasperated, that she told him she believ'd he dealt with the *Devil*, and that he had sold himself to the *Devil* only to be able to fright his Wife.

H E jested with her, and told her any Man wou'd be beholden to the *Devil* to hush a noisy Woman, and that he

was glad he had found the Way to do it, whatever it cost him.

S H E was so exasperated at this, that she threaten'd him if he play'd any more of his hellish Arts with her, she wou'd have him Indicted for a Wizard, and having a Familiar; and she could prove it, she said, plain enough, for that he had rais'd the *Devil* on purpose to fright his Wife.

T H E Fray parted that Night with ill Words and ill Nature enough, but he little thought she intended as she said, and the next Day he had forgot it all, and was as good-honour'd as if nothing had happened.

B U T he found his Wife chagreen'd and disturbed very much, full of Resentment, and threatening him with what she resolv'd to do.

H O W E V E R he little thought she intended him the Mischief she had in her Head, offering to talk friendly to her; but she rejected it with Scorn, and told him she would be as good as her Word, for she wou'd not live with a Man that should bring the *Devil* into the Room as often as he thought fit, to murther his Wife.

H E strove to pacify her by Words, but she told him she was in earnest with him: and in a Word she was in earnest; for she goes away to a Justice, and making an Affidavit that her Husband had a Familiar Spirit, and

that she went in Danger of her Life, she obtain'd a Warrant for him to be apprehended.

I N short, she brought home the Warrant, shew'd it to him, and told him she had not given it into the Hands of an Officer, because he should have [sig.L7^b] the Liberty to go voluntarily before the Justice of the Peace, and if he thought fit to let her know when he would be ready, she would be so too, and would get some of her own Friends to go along with her.

H E was surpriz'd at this, for he little thought she had been in earnest with him and endeavor'd to pacify her by all the Ways possible; but she found she had frighted him heartily, and so indeed she had, for tho' the thing had nothing in it of Guilt, yet he found it might expose him very much, and being loth to have such a Thing brought upon the Stage against him, he used all the Entreaties with her that her was able, and begged her not to do it.

B U T the more he humbled himself, the more she triumph'd over him; and carrying Things to an unsufferable height of Insolence, she told him at last she would make him do Justice, as she call'd it; that she was sure she cou'd have him punish'd if he continu'd obstinate, and she wou'd not be expos'd to Witchcraft and Sorcery; for she did not know what length he might carry it.

T O bring the Story to a Conclusion; she got the better of him to such a degree, that he offer'd to refer the thing to indifferent Persons, Friends on both Sides; and they met several Times, but could bring it to no Conclusion. His Friends said there was nothing in it, and they would not have him comply with any thing upon the Pretense of it; that he called for his Son, and somebody open'd the Casement and cry'd *here*, that there was not the least Evidence of Witchcraft in that, and insisted that she cou'd make nothing of it.

H E R Friends carried it high, instructed by her: She offer'd to Swear that he had threatened her before with his Son's Ghost; that now he visibly rais'd [sig.L8^a] a Spectre; for that calling upon his Son, who was dead to be sure, the Ghost immediately appear'd; that he could not have called up the *Devil* thus to personate his Son, if he had not dealt with the *Devil* himself, and had a familiar Spirit, and that this was of dangerous Consequence to her.

U P O N the whole, the Man wanted Courage to stand it, and was afraid of being expos'd; so that he was grievously perplex'd, and knew not what to do.

W H E N she found him humbled as much as she cou'd desire, she told him if he would do her Justice, as she call'd it, (that is to say, settle his Estate upon her

Son,) she would put it up, on Condition that he should promise to fright her no more with raising the *Devil*.

T H A T part of the Proposal exasperated him again, and he upbraided her with the Slander of it, and told her he defy'd her, and she might do her worst.

T H U S it broke off all Treaty, and she began to threaten him again; however, at length, she brought him to comply, and he gives a Writing under his Hand to her, some of her Friends being by, promising that he would comply if his Son did not arrive, or send an Account of himself, within four Months.

S H E was satisfy'd with this, and they were all made Friends again, and accordingly he gave the Writing; but when he deliver'd it to her in Presence of her two Arbitrators, he took Liberty to say to her, with a grave and solemn kind of Speech:

L O O K you, says he, you have worry'd me into this Agreement by your fiery Temper, and I have sign'd it against Justice, Conscience and Reason; but depend upon it, I shall never perform it. [sig.L8^b]

O N E of the Arbitrators said, Why, Sir, this is doing nothing; for if you resolve not to perform it, what signifies the Writing? Why do you promise what you do not intend shall be done? this will but kindle a new Flame to begin with, when the Time fix'd expires.

W H Y, says he, I am satisfy'd in my Mind that my Son is alive.

C O M E, come, says his Wife, speaking to the Gentleman that had argued with her Husband, let him sign the Agreement, and let me alone to make him perform the Conditions.

W E L L, says her Husband, you shall have the Writing, and you shall be let alone; but I am satisfy'd you will never ask me to perform it; and yet I am no Wizard, adds he, as you have wickedly suggested.

S H E reply'd that she would prove that he dealt with the Devil, for that he rais'd as evil Spirit by only calling his Son by his Name; and so began to tell the Story of the Hand and the Casement.

C O M E, says the Man to the Gentleman that was her Friend, give me the Pen; I never dealt with but one Devil in my Life, and there it sits, turning to his Wife; and now I have made an Agreement with her, that none but the Devil wou'd desire any Man to sign: and I will sign it; I say, give me the Pen, but she nor all the Devils in Hell will ever be able to get it executed, remember I say so.

S H E began to open at him, and so a new Flame would have been kindled, but the Gentleman moderated between them; and her Husband setting his Hand to the Writing put an end to the Fray at that time.

A T the end of four Months she challeng'd the Performance, and a Day was appointed, and her two Friends that had been the Arbitrators were invited [sig.M1^d] to Dinner upon this Occasion, believing that her Husband would have executed the Deeds; and accordingly the Writings were brought all forth, engross'd, and read over; and some old Writings which at her Marriage were sign'd by her Trustees in order to her quitting some part of the Estate to her Son, were also brought to be cancell'd. The Husband being brought over by fair Means or foul, I know not whether, to be in a Humour for Peace sake to execute the Deeds, and disinherit his Son; alledging that, indeed, if he was dead it was no wrong to him, and if he was alive he was very unkind and undutiful to his Father in not letting him hear from him in all that time.

B E S I D E S it was urg'd that if he should at any time afterwards appear to be alive, his Father (who had very much increas'd, it seems, in his Wealth,) was able to give him another Fortune, and to make him a just Satisfaction for the Loss he should sustain by the Paternal Estate.

U P O N these Considerations, I say, they had brought over the poor low-spirited Husband to be almost willing to comply; or at least, willing or unwilling, it was to be done, and (as above) they met accordingly.

W H E N they had discoursed upon all the Particulars, and (as above) the new Deeds were read over, she or her Husband took the old Writings up to cancel them; I think the Story says it was the Wife, not her Husband, that was just going to tear off the Seal, when on a sudden they hear a rushing Noise in the Parlour where they sat, as if some body had come in the Door of the Room which opened from the Hall, and went thro' the Room towards the Garden Door, which was shut.

T H E Y were all surpriz'd at it, for it was very distinct, but they saw nothing. The Woman turn'd pale, and was in a terrible Fright; however, [sig.M1^b] as nothing was seen, she recover'd a little, but began to ruffle her Husband again.

W H A T, says she, have you laid your Plot to bring up more Devils again?

T H E Man sat compos'd, tho' he was under no little Surprise too.

O N E of her Gentleman said to him, What is the meaning of all this?

I P R O T E S T, Sir, says he, I know no more of it than you do.

W H A T can it be then? *said the other Gentleman.*

I C A N N O T conceive, *says he,* for I am utterly unacquainted with such Things.

H A V E you heard nothing from your Son? says the Gentleman.

N O T one Word, *says the Father*, no not the least Word these five Years.

H A V E you wrote nothing to him, *says the Gentleman*, about this Transaction?

N O T a Word, says he, for I know not where to direct a Letter to him.

S I R, *says the Gentleman*, I have heard much of Apparitions, but I never saw any in my Life, nor did I believe there was any thing of Reality in them; and indeed I saw nothing now: but the passing of some Body, or Spirit, or something, cross the Room just now, is plain; I heard it distinctly. I believe there is some unseen Thing in the Room, as much as if I saw it.

N A Y, *says the other Arbitrator*, I felt the Wind of it as it pass'd by me. Pray, adds he, turning to the Husband, do you see nothing yourself?

N O, upon my Word, *says he*, not the least Appearance in the World.

I H A V E been told, says the first Arbitrator, and have Read that an Apparition may be seen by some [sig.M2^d] People, and be Invisible to others, tho' all in the same Room together.

H O W E V E R the Husband solemnly protested to them all that he saw nothing.

P R A Y, Sir, *says the first Arbitrator*, have you seen any thing at any other time, or heard any Voices or Noises, or had any Dreams about this Matter?

I N D E E D, *says he*, I have several time dream'd my Son is alive, and that I have spoken with him; and once that I ask'd him, why he was so undutiful, and slighted me so, as not to let hear of him in so many Years, seeing as he knew it was in my Power to disinherit him.

W E L L, Sir, what Answer did he give?

I N E V E R dream'd so far on as to have him answer; it always wak'd me.

A N D what do you think of it yourself, *says the Arbitrator*, do you think he is dead?

N O, indeed, *says the Father*, I do believe in my Conscience he is alive, as much as I believe I am alive myself; and I am going to do as wicked a thing of its Kind as ever any Man did.

T R U L Y, *says the second Arbitrator*, it begins to shock me, I don't know what to say to it; I don't care to meddle any more with it, I don't like driving Men to act against their Consciences.

W I T H this the Wife, who, as I said, having a little recover'd her Spirits, and especially encourag'd, because she saw nothing, started up; What's all this Discourse to the purpose, *says she*, is it not all agreed already? what do we come here for?

N A Y, says the first Arbitrator, I think we meet now not to enquire into why it is done, but to execute Things according to Agreement, and what are we frightened at?

I'M not frightened, says the Wife, not I; come, says she to her Husband haughtily, sign the Deed; I'll cancel the old Writings if forty *Devils* were in [sig.M2^b] the Room; and with that she takes up one of the Deeds, and went to tear off the Seal.

T H A T Moment the same Casement flew open again, tho' it was fast in the Inside, just as if was before; and the Shadow of a Body was seen, as standing in the Garden without, and the Head reaching up to the Casement, the Face looking into the Room, and staring directly at the Woman with a stern and angry Countenance; H O L D, said the Spectre, as if speaking to the Woman; and immediately clap'd the Casement to again, and vanish'd.

I T is impossible to describe here the Consternation this second Apparition put the whole Company into; the Wife, who was so bold just before, that she would do it tho' forty *Devils* were in the Room, skream'd out like a Woman in Fits, and let the Writing fall out of her Hands: The two Arbitrators were exceedingly terrify'd, but not so much as the rest; but one of them took up the Award which they had sign'd, in which they awarded the Husband to execute the Deed to dispose of the Estate from the Son.

I D A R E say, said he, be the Spirits a good Spirit or bad, it will not be against cancelling this; so he tore his Name out of the Award, and so did the other, by his Example, and both of them got up from their Seats, and said they would have no more to do in it.

B U T that which was most unexpected of all was, that the Man himself was so frightened, that he fainted away; notwithstanding it was, as might be said, in his favour.

T H I S put an end to the whole Affair at that time; and, as I understand by the Sequel, it did so for ever.

T H E Story has many Particulars more in it, too long to trouble you with; but two Particulars, [sig.M3^a] which are to the Purpose, I must not omit, *Viz.*

1. T H A T in about four or five Months more after this second Apparition, the Man's Son arriv'd from the *East-Indies*, whither he had gone four Years before in a *Portugueze Ship* from *Lisbon*.

2. T H A T upon being particularly enquired of about these Things, and especially whether he had any Knowledge of them, or any Apparition to him, or Voices, or other Intimation as to what was doing in *England*, relating to him; he affirmed constantly that he had not, except that once he dreamed his Father had written him an angry Letter, threatening him that if he did not come home he would disinherit him, and leave him not one Shilling.

DANIEL DEFOE'S *AN ESSAY ON THE HISTORY
AND REALITY OF
APPARITIONS*: A CRITICAL EDITION
VOLUME II

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

by
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M.A., Louisiana State University, 1993
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But he added, that he never did receive any such Letter from his Father in his Life, or from any one else.

C H A P. IX.

More Relations of particular Facts, proving the Reality of Apparitions; with some just Observations on the Difference between the good and evil Spirits, from the Errand or Business they come about.

I M A K E no Remarks upon any of these Stories; the present Business is to bring Examples of such Things, to prove the Reality of Apparitions in general: As to who, or what it is, that in such cases may appear, and why, and upon what Occasions; that we shall speak of hereafter.

I S H A L L bring one Example now within my own Knowledge, and in which I have some Con- [sig.M3^b] cern; not but that other Accounts may be as authentick as this, tho' I cannot so positively vouch them at second or third Hand. When I offer those to you, therefore, I tell you honestly that I have such and such Relations from good Hands, or I have such a Story by my in Manuscript, and I leave you to make such use of them as you please.

T H I S Caution of mine, however, ought not to lessen the Credit of any of the Relations here publish'd; for why may not the Account given by another Hand be as true as this which I give you from my own Knowledge; and why must an Author, in such cases as these, be made answerable for the Particulars of every History, or be bound to leave it out, which would be the Reader's Loss, not his own.

H O W E V E R the following¹ I can vouch from my own Knowledge. A. B.² was a Merchant in *London*, and as he drove a considerable Trade beyond-sea, he establish'd a Factor, or as the Language of Trade calls it a H O U S E, at a certain Point in the *English Colonies in America*, and sent over his Servants or Apprentices thither, as is useful for Merchants to do.

O N E of his said Apprentices being fitted out, and ready to Embark, his Cargo being actually on board the Ship, and the Ship fallen down the River as far as *Gravesend*; his Master was getting his Letters and Invoyses, and other Dispatches, ready for him, he being to go down the River the same Evening.

T H E Hurry which thus dispatching him put his Master into, occasion'd, that when he was call'd to Dinner at the usual Hour, he did not take the young Gentleman with him as usual, but told him he must be content to stay in

the Counting-house 'till he came to relieve him.
[sig.M4^a]

A C C O R D I N G L Y Dinner being over, he goes down to send him up to Dinner. And when he came to the Counting-house Door, there sat his Man with the Book-keeper also, writing as he left him.

I T happen'd just that Moment, some occasion extraordinary oblig'd him to step back again, and go up Stairs to the Dinning- Room, from whence he came; and intending not to stay, he did not speak to the young Man, but left him in the Counting-house, and went immediately up Stairs.

I T was not possible that he, or any one else, except such as could walk invisible, could go by, or pass him unseen: Good Manners would have hinder'd the young Man from thrusting by his Master upon the Stairs, if he had been going up; but he is positive he did not, and cou'd not pass, without being seen.

B U T when he came to the top of the Stairs there sat the young Man at Dinner with the other Servants; the Room they din'd in being a little Parlour, which open'd just against the Stairs, so that he saw him all the way of the upper Part of the Stair-case, and could not be deceived.

T H E Master did not speak to him, which he was very sorry for afterwards; but the Surprize made him pass by the Room, and go into the Dinning-Room, which was to the

right Hand of it, but he sent one immediately to look, and he was there really at Dinner; so that what he (the Master) saw below in the Counting-house, must be the Apparition, as it certainly was.

B U T this was not all: The young Gentleman embark'd as above, and arriv'd safe with all his Effects in *America*, tho' he never liv'd to return. However, I cannot say his Apparition in the manner as related could have the least Relation to his being sick, and dying abroad, which was not 'till three [sig.M4^b] Years afterwards. But what follow'd was of another kind.

T H I S young Man had an elder Brother, who liv'd in *London*; he was a fine Gentleman, and a Scholar, and was at the time studying Physick. He was also a stout brave Gentleman, and in particular understood a Sword, that is to say how to use a Sword, as well as most Gentlemen in *England*.

H E had an accidental Rencounter with a Gentleman in the Street, in that short Street which goes out of *Fleet-street*³ into *Salisbury-Court*⁴, and being so compleat a Master of his Weapon, he wounded his Antagonist, and drove him into a Tavern in the Street, from whence came out two Men more upon him with their Swords, but both of them found the Gentleman so much an Over-match for them, that they left him as fast as the first; whereupon a fourth came out, not with a Sword, but a Fire-Fork taken

hastily up out of the Tavern Kitchen, and running at this Gentleman with it, knock'd him down, and broke his Skull, of which Wound he afterwards died.

W H I L E this was done in *London*, his Brother, as far off as *Boston* in *New-England*, writing to his Master the Merchant, (and who gives this Account of it) after other Business, wrote this Postscript.

S I R, I beg you will be pleas'd in your Return to this to let me have some Account, as much as conveniently may be, of how my Brother does, and what Condition he is in; which you will excuse my Importunity for, when you read the following Account, (viz.)

T H E 20th of ----- last, about six a Clock in the Morning, lying in my Bed, and broad awake, my Brother, or an Apparition of my Brother, came to the Bed's Feet, and open'd the Curtain, looking full in my Face, but did not speak. I was very much frighted, but [sig.M5^d] however I so far recover'd as to say to him, Brother, what is the Matter with you?

*' H E had a Napkin-Cap on his Head, which was very
' bloody, he look'd very pale and ghastly, and said,
' I am basely murther'd by ---- naming the Person,
' but I shall have Justice done me; and then
' disappear'd.*

N O W this Letter was so dated, that it was impossible any Account could have been sent of the Disaster, that could reach thither in that time; for it was not dated above fourteen Days after the Fact was committed in *London*; and that it was Genuine I am well assur'd, because I saw the Letter within an Hour after it was receiv'd in *London*, read it myself, and knew the young Man's Hand, and the young Man also perfectly well, as I did his Brother that was kill'd also, very intimately.

T H E young Man was sober, religious and sensible, not given to Whimsie, or light-headed Fancies, not vapourish or distemper'd, not apt to see double, or dream waking, as many of our Apparition-making People are; he was besides that a Scholar, and very serious: the first I mention as a Protection to him from foolish Imagination, and the last from Falsehood; and I am satisfy'd, the Reader may depend upon both the Stories, I Mean as to the truth of them.

I N my speaking of Apparitions as I have stated the Case, I must take leave to differ from the Notions of the Ancients, who 'tis Evident understood all Apparition to be the Souls, or as we call them, the Ghosts, of departed Persons; but when they came to make rational Conclusions from those first Opinions, What wild Additions were they driven to make, to the first just Conceptions which they had form'd in their Minds? [sig.M5^b]

T H E I R first Conceptions, *I say*, were indeed just, consistent with Reason, and with Nature; for they concluded, that when the Body is dead, and the Soul separated, the State was determin'd. This Mr. *Pope* expresses very well in his Translation of *Homer*,

For to the farther Shore
*When once we pass, the Soul returns no more*⁵.

T H I S was, I say, a rational and just Sentiment; but then they were confounded in all those Imaginations, by seeing the Apparitions of their departed Friends, as if come back from those eternal Shades; and how to reconcile this they did not know.

T O get over this Difficulty, they were driven to strange Shifts, and some of them it must be confess'd were very foolish ones: such as these;

1. T H A T the Soul wandered about in the Air, 'till such time as the Body obtain'd its due Funeral Rites: from this Notion, the Friends of the deceased were mightily concern'd to see the Funeral Pile erected for their departed Friends, and to have the Body honourably burn'd; then the Ashes of the Bones were deposited in an Urn, and that Urn bury'd in the Earth; when this was done the Soul was admitted to pass the Flood, (that is) to be transported into the *Elysian Fields*, from whence they

never should return any more; but in case these Rites were not perform'd for any Person, the Soul wander'd restless, and unfix'd, in a state of Perplexity, for an hundred Years. Hence those Lines in *Virgil*, *Æneid*. vi.

*Haec omnis, quam cernis inops inbumataque turba est:
Portitor ille, Charon: hi, quos veluit unda, sepulti.
Nec ripas datur horrendas nec rauca fluenta
Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.*
[sig.M6^a]

*Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum:
Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.*

Æneid lib. vi. line 32⁶.

N O W between this Time, or during this Interval, that is to say, between Death and the Funeral Pile, they pretended they allow'd the separated or unembodied Souls of Men might appear, and visit their Friends, or harrass their Enemies; and on this Occasion, the Ghost of *Patroclus*, slain by *Hector* at the Siege of *Troy*, is brought in visiting his Friend *Achilles*, and begging of him to get his Funeral Rites perform'd, that he might be admitted to Rest.

-----Thus the Phantom said,
Sleeps my Achilles, his Patroclus dead?

*Living, I seem'd his dearest, tendrest Care,
 But now forgot, I wander in the Air:
 Let my pale Corse the Rites of Burial know,
 And give me Entrance in the Shades below:
 'Till then the Spirit finds no Resting-place,
 But here and there th'unbodied Spectres chace
 The Vagrant Dead-----*

Iliad Lib. xxiii⁷.

2. *H O M E R's* Notion of the State of the Dead, was something like the ancient Philosophy of the *Aegyptians*, which gave the Soul a Shape like the Body, and that it was a Receptacle of the Mind; and the Mind they made to be the sublime and superior Part, and that only.

T H U S in the Case of Apparitions, they allow'd that this Case or Shell call'd the Soul, might appear after Death, but the Mind could not, but was exalted among the Gods, and took up its Eternal Abode; from whence

"-----It could return no more⁸. [sig.M6^b]

T H U S the Ghost of *Patroclus*, going with his Speech to *Achillies*, says thus,

*When once the last the Funeral Flames ascend,
 No more shall meet Achilles and his Friend:*

No more our Thoughts to those we love make known⁹.

T H I S last Notion, tho' gross and absurd in it self, was the utmost Refuge they had, by which to solve the Difficulty of Apparitions. They imagin'd that the Soul was not only separated by Death from the Body, but that there was a Separation of the Understanding from its Case or Vehicle, as they call'd it; so that the Soul, which was but the Image and Form of the Body, might be in Hell; the Body it self burnt to Ashes remain'd in the Urn; and the Understanding or Mind, which was the sublime or divine Part, be in Heaven with the Gods: This *Homer* expresses thus,

-----*'Tis certain Man, tho' dead, retains
Part of himself; the immortal Mind remains.
The Form subsists without the Body's Aid,
Aerial Semblance, and an empty Shade¹⁰.*

A G A I N he explains it in his *Odyssey*, lib. xi. line 600. speaking in the Name of *Ulysses*,

*Now I Strength of Hercules behold,
A Towering Spectre of Gygantick Mould,
A shadowy Form! for high in Heav'n's Abodes*

*Himself resides, a God among the Gods*¹¹.

H E R E *Homer* fancies *Hercules*, that is the Mind, the sublime Part of *Hercules*, was in Heaven, and exalted there to the highest Degree too;

A God among the Gods¹².

[sig.M7^d]

and yet at the same time his Soul, his εἰδὼλον¹³ or Image, was in Hell. And *Plutarch* gives us the same Description at large.

W H A T learned Nonsense, and what a great deal of it is here, to reconcile a thing, which upon the Christian Foundation is made as easie, as any thing not immediately visible to the common Eye, can be made?

N A T U R E dictated, and Reason confirm'd, that the first Principle, namely, the Soul, or as they call it, the Mind or Understanding, fled to Heaven immediately after Death, and return'd no more.

T H U S *Andromache* mourning for the Loss of her Husband *Hector*, is brought in speaking according to the Doctrine of the Ancients:

*Thou to the dismal Realms for ever gone,
And I abandon'd.-----*¹⁴

T H E Dead once pass'd to the *dismal Realms* (as they call'd the Shades below) were *gone for ever*, and to return no more; but then they were perplex'd to find that they did return, as in the Case of *Patroclus* to *Achilles*; tho' that (by the way) was a Dream only, not an Apparition, or as we may call it an Apparition in a Dream, and no more.

B U T they had their Apparitions, and we read of many Apparitions of the Dead to the Living; as particularly in the famous Example of *Cæsar* appearing to *Brutus*: and this perplex'd them so, that they knew not how to support the Principle of the Soul not returning, under the Experience of the Souls actually returning in Apparition, visiting and conversing with their Friends, which was incontestable, daily Experience making it known to all Parties.

T O reconcile this they fled to Invention, and first to that of the Intervals between the Death and [sig.M7^b] the Funeral of the departed Souls; of which before.

B U T this is liable to so many just Exceptions, so many Absurdities, that it could not satisfie Men of Sense; for first they were obliged to say and prove, (which would be very difficult) that none of the Souls of the Dead ever appear'd after the Funeral Rites were solemnized; which if one Example had contradicted, all the Arguments in the World could not then have supported

the Fiction; and this I cannot doubt was contradicted on many Occasions.

A N D this no doubt made the ancient System of the *Egyptians* be reviv'd, and pass better among them afterwards; tho' whether the *Romans* receiv'd it or no, we do not find ascertain'd in any Part of their History.

B E S I D E S, there was an Absurdity in the very Doctrine it self; for if the Apparition of a departed Soul was limited by this Circumstance of burning the Body, or performing Funeral Rites; it put the State of the Dead in that particular Respect into the Power of Living: *for Example*, If the Living, who had Possession of the dead Bodies of Persons slain, suppose them Friends, had Possession of the Body, the Soul of that Body, tho' unembodied and dismiss'd, could not be admitted to rest, or as they express'd it, could not pass into the Shades or Realms below; so if the Enemy had Possession of the Body, it was in the Power of the Enemy to keep the Soul out of Heaven: an Absurdity so gross, one would think the wiser Heathens could never entertain such a Thought: Yet that such it was, the Words of *Patroclus's* Ghost quoted from *Homer* makes evident.

*Let my pale Corse the Rites of Burial know,
And give me Entrance in the Shades below*¹⁵. [sig.M8^a]

U N H A P P Y *Patroclus*! How gross would this sound, how harsh and unmusical in our Times, when Christianity has given us more just *Ideas* of things? *Patroclus* could not get leave to go to the Shades below, 'till his Funeral Rites were perform'd; that is, in our Sense, could not be admitted, no not into Hell it self, 'till his Body was burn'd on Funeral Pile or Pyre, and his Ashes deposited in an Urn; that is, buried like a Gentleman.

B Y which Rule, the Souls of those poor Creatures who were killed in the Wars, and were left unburied in Heaps in the Field, or only a Pile of Stones thrown upon them, as was often the Case, are wandering still, and neither admitted into Heaven or Hell.

A G A I N, it was in the Power of the Enemy, if he had a Body in Possession, to preserve his Hatred against that Enemy even beyond Death, and by keeping him unburied, keep his Soul or Spirit suspended, wandring, and forgotten in the Air, and neither admitted to one or other Place, whether above or below.

T H U S *Achilles* had the Body of *Hector* in his Power twelve Days, and *Homer* brings him in triumphing over his Enemy in that case, and in a manner unworthy of a Man of Honour. When he speaks to the Ghost of his Friend *Patroclus*, and vows to sacrifice twelve *Trojan* Prisoners at his Funeral Pile; he adds,

*Achilles' Promise is compleat,
The bloody Hector stretch'd before thy Feet,
Lo! to the Dogs his Carcass I resign.*

*Gloomy he said, and horrible in View,
Before the Bier the bleeding Hector threw,
Prone to Dust.*

Iliad lib. xxiii. line ₃₅¹⁶. [sig.M8^b]

So again, *Achilles* mourning over the Body of *Patroclus* as it lay on the Funeral Pile, and the Fire not yet kindled; I say, there again he threatens to deny *Hector* a Soldier's Burial.

*But heavier Fates on Hector's Corse attend,
Kept from the Flames for hungry Dogs to rend¹⁷.*

T H I S was a terrible Curse, and very cruel to poor *Hector* after he was dead, not to suffer his Soul to enter into the Shades below, which would be (to speak it in our Language) not to give him leave to go to Hell; that the Gods it seems thwarted *Achilles*, and would not let his Cruelty take place, but he was oblig'd to grant *Priam* a Truce, and let the *Trojans* bury him.

So spake he, threatening: But the Gods made vain

*His Threats, and guard inviolate the Slain.
Celestial Venus hover'd o'er his Head,
And roseat Unguents, heavenly Fragrance! shed;
She watch'd him all the Night, and all the Day,
And drove the Blood-hounds from their design'd Prey¹⁸.*

So that the Burying of *Hector* was made the Care of the Gods, defeating the cruel Vengeance of *Achilles*.

T O what Length did this foolish Notion of the Ancients carry this Point! putting it into the Power of a Man's Enemy to keep his Soul out of Heaven too, as long as his Enemy thought fit to keep the Body out of the Grave.

H A P P Y it is for us in these malicious Days that it is otherwise here; when not Enemies only, but even cruel Creditors, might arrest the dead Body of their Debtor, and even send the Soul of him to the *Devil*, or keep it hovering or wandring in the Air 'till their Debts were paid: As Times go now, and [sig.N1³] as Charity stands now rated among us, nor poor Debtor could be at Rest any more after he was Dead, than he could before, 'till his Debts were all paid.

N A Y, tho' it had pleas'd a merciful Father to forgive him his Sins, and as we allow it's possible, in spite of the cruel T----- S-----¹⁹ that a Bankrupt may die in the State of a pardoned Penitent; yet I say 'till the Debt was paid the more inexorable Creditor should refuse

to let him be admitted into Heaven 'till he was paid the utmost Farthing.

I M U S T confess if this were the Case among us, I believe it would be the hardest thing in the World to get a poor Bankrupt's Composition accepted, or his Certificate signed; for if it was in the Power of the Creditors to send their Debtors to the *Devil*, I should be apt to say with the Disciples of our Lord, *Who shall be saved?*

H O W often do we find a Creditor give it for an Answer, when a solliciting Friend comes begging him to compound, and to accept the utmost Shilling that the Debtor has to offer: How often, I say, do we find the cruel Creditor reply, *No not I, I'll sign none of it, the Devil shall have him before I'll sign it?*

N A Y, if his Soul was to hover in the Air, as the Ancients fancy'd, 'till the Body was buried; I question whether they would let the Debtor go either to Heaven or Hell 'till they had their Money; especially if the hovering or wandering in the Air was a worse Condition, as I don't know but, while the *Devils* are said to be there, it may.

B U T to return to the Ancients and their Notion of Futurity, and of Souls departed, the Difficulty, as I have observed, was very perplexing: They granted that after the Souls of Men were once determined, and

transported in *Charon's* Ferry-boat²⁰ to the other side of the River *Styx*²¹, or the [sig.N1^b] *Stygian*²² Gulph, they could return no more; and all their other Fables upon that Subject would have been overthrown and come to nothing, if it had been otherwise; such as *Cerebus*²³ barking continually at the gate, *Charon* the Ferry-man carrying all over but bringing none back, and the like.

B U T notwithstanding this, as I have said, they found several of these Souls visiting the World in Apparition, and this quiet destroy'd the Scheme of their being in a determin'd State; so that they knew not what to think of next.

H O W would it have unravell'd all those hard Knots, and made every thing easie to their Understanding, had they been let into this just way of reasoning? had they discover'd that there is an Angelick World, an invisible World of Spirits, some of whom being placed by their merciful Maker, as an advanc'd Body, at or near the outer Circumference of the Earth's Atmosphere, have a Power given them at least to take Cognizance of human Affairs; and to converse with this World, either by Apparition, Voices, Noises, good or bad Omens, or other sensible Conveyances to the Mind, by which they can give Notices of Good or Evil, and can intimate to Man many things useful to him in the Conduct of his Life.

T H A T the Spirits inhabiting this invisible World are at hand; (how near is not necessary to us to know) can assume Bodies, Shape, Voice, and even can personate this or that Man or Woman; so as to appear in the very Figure, Countenance, and Cloaths or Dress of our departed Friends, speak with their proper and distinct Voices, and in the first Person of this or that Man or Woman, and in their Names; and can thus suit themselves in several Appearances, to the Occasion they appear for: [sig.N2^a]

H A D they had known these things, I say, they would have rejoic'd in the Discovery, and it would have made every thing else easie to them. *Patroclus* would never had troubled *Achilles* with a Visit from the Air, upon pretence of his being left to be wandring about the Atmosphere for want of his Funeral Rites; the Dogs, or the Crows, or the Worms might have feasted themselves on *Hector's* Carcass, it would never have distrub'd *Hector* in the least, much less would her Goddess-ship *Venus*²⁴ have concern'd herself to protect his Corps 'till the funeral Pile was prepar'd.

T H E Doctrine of the Soul's being a Shell or Case form'd into a Shape, as a Mould is form'd into Shape to receive the Brass or Copper, and throw out a Statue of Figure or this or that Heroe, which it is appointed to form; I say, this absurd Doctrine of the Soul, Body and Mind being three distinct Persons in every Man, would not

have found Place in the World; but all things would have been conceiv'd regularly of, and the World would have been rightly inform'd of future things, as well as things present.

H O W E V E R, to bring it down to our Case, all this concurs to the Doctrine of Spirits, and the Reality of their Appearance, which is the Case before us: Their Friends departed did appear; what it was appear'd they knew not, only negatively they knew it was not their Bodies, however the Shape might be assumed; nor could they reconcile that Part to their Understanding. How it could be, that the Body seem'd to appear and did not appear; or, as we might say, appear'd as if they had appear'd; but when a Tryal was offer'd, no Body could be found, as was the Case of *Patroclus* and *Achilles* in *Homer*, which Mr. *Pope* thus translates, [sig.N2^b]

*He said, and with his longing Arms essay'd
In vain to grasp the visionary Shade.
Like a thin Smoke he sees the Spirit fly,
And hears a feeble lamentable Cry²⁵.*

H O W gross an Ignorance is here in so great a Man as *Achilles*? to go about to grasp a Vision! to feel a Shade! One can hardly excuse the Poet for allowing *Achilles*, who was the Heroe of the whole Poem, to be so weak, even in

those Days; but it must be allowed 'twas all in a Dream, and imaginary, and it might well awake him indeed, as it did, to grasp at a Man in Armour, and find nothing in his Arms but Smoke.

T H E Result of it all is this, namely, the Reality of Apparition was a certain, undoubted, and received thing; 'tis evident that they were not questioned; for upon the Reality of the Appearance of Souls, all those Pains were taken to settle the Possibility of it. That it was so, the Frequency of the thing left them no Room to question; it would have been ridiculous to have disputed it; but how it could be, how to reconcile it to all the Notions of Soul and Body, the future and present State, that was what no body could explain, and no body could understand; which Ignorance put their Invention so much on the Rack to find out and form Schemes for the bringing the Particulars together, and making the Appearance possible, which they daily found was in Fact real.

'T W A S a little strange that tho' they were satisfied by daily Demonstration that the Thing was true, yet they were obliged to believe it was not true at the same time. They frequently saw their Friends appear, and yet knew they were not in a Condition from whence they could return to appear. But the strangest thing of all, at least to [sig.N3^a] me, is, that they should not, all this while, conceive the Possibility of Spirits assuming human

Shape, and appearing in their Figures, in their Shapes, and in their Names.

T H I S would have put an end to all the Difficulty, and have reconciled all the Doubts that attended it, and at the same time would have led them into several sublime Truths, such as perhaps they were perfectly ignorant of; as particularly into the great Doctrine of the Unity of infinite Power; the universal Empire of Providence, and its Government and Influence of and upon all the Affairs of this World, even the most minute things in Life; and many other valuable Inquiries.

T H A T Apparitions were believed to be real in those Days, is evident from many Instances of it given in History, tho' I have not room to look far back. 'Tis said that *Alexander* the Great was haunted by his Friend *Clitus*, whom he had most ungratefully tortur'd to Death, after a long Series of the most faithful Services, and successful also; but there is no particular Account of it in *Plutarch*²⁶.

T H E Apparition of the Ghost of *Julius Cæsar* to *Brutus* a little before the Battel *Philippi*²⁷, tho' it be certain, is nevertheless variously reported; some Accounts relate it to be the Ghost of *Julius Cæsar*, and vulgar Opinion concurs with that Report; which is so receiv'd at this time, that they show you an original ancient Piece of fine *Italian* Painting at *Naples*²⁸, where

the Phantome is represented bloody and wounded, with *Casca's* Dagger sticking into his Shoulder, which he, *Casca*, reaching his Arm over his Shoulder fix'd in or near his Collar Bone before, and left sticking there; according to which our Frontespiece to this Work is at least design'd: Whether that Part of the Story be right represented or no, is difficult to determine. [sig.N2^b]

B U T according to other Accounts, the Apparition was only of a Man, without any Similitude of *Cæsar*; and that when *Brutus*, who was busy writing Dispatches for his Army which was then drawing together to fight the *Octavian* Troops, look'd up and saw him, he boldly ask'd, *What art thou?* and the Apparition answer'd, *I am thy evil Genius, and I will meet thee again at Philippi*; to which the undaunted Hero, unconcern'd at the Sight, and as if he desir'd him not to disturb him at that time, he being then otherwise engaged, answer'd, *Well, I'll meet thee there*, and so went on with his writing.

B R U T U S was, without a doubt, a Hero in his personal Valour, and more so in his Principle, viz. the Love of Liberty, and of his Country; and as nothing but the Zeal for the Liberty of his Country could have embark'd him against the Life of *Cæsar*, who was otherwise his Benefactor, so he was above the Fear of Death, and could not be in the least daunted at the Fore-knowledge of his Fate at *Philippi*; seeing he had the Notion of Life

which was general at that time, namely, that a true Heroe could never be miserable, since it was always in his Power to die a Freeman, and not to out-live any threatened Calamity, whether Personal or National.

U P O N this foot he enter'd that unequal Battel against the Octavian Troops with and undaunted Chearfulness; for he was sure one way or another to come off victorious; that is to say, that if *Augustus* conquer'd his Army, he knew how to conquer *Augustus*; if by the Slaughter of his Troops *Cæsar* had the better of him, and defeated his Designs for the Liberty of his Country, He, by the Slaughter of himself, knew how to defeat *Augustus* in his Designs of conquering *Brutus*, since he resolv'd to die free, and not survive the *Roman* Liberty; and so he did. [sig.N4^a]

A N D upon this Foundation it was, that he was so unconcerned at his approaching Fate, and so undaunted in his looking at and speaking to the Spectre that appear'd to him.

B U T we have yet abundance more Proofs by Example of the Reality of Apparitions.

A L A R I C H²⁹ the famous Gothick King, who over-run so much of the *Roman* Empire, had an Apparition which came to him³⁰, and told him he should undertake his Expedition against the *Romans*, and that promis'd him Victory and Success; some said it was an Angel, others that it was

the Ghost of his deceased Predecessor *Rhadagaiseus*²¹. When he first undertook to raise his Army he was intending to go upon a glorious Expedition to the East, to wit, against the *Hunns*³² and the *Heruli*³³; that is to say, into *Poland*, *Sclavonia*³⁴ and *Hungaria*, and perhaps *Muscovy*³⁵ or *Russia*. But upon the Apparition speaking to him, he was encourag'd to undertake a War against the *Romans* in *Italy*; where notwithstanding he was routed and utterly overthrown by *Stilico*³⁶; he afterwards return'd into *Italy*, kill'd *Stilico* the *Roman* General, over-run the Country, and took and plunder'd the City of *Rome* it self; this was Ann. 409: so that the Apparition, of whatever kind it was, must be so far *Angelic* as to fore-know Events and Issues of things on Earth, which must be suitable to the *Angelic* Heavenly Spirits, and superior to the *Diabolic* Spirits who know nothing *Prophetic*.

N O R is it any thing inconsistent with the *Angelic* exalted and good Spirits; for this was not encouraging Evil, but stirring up a powerful Prince, who was to be *Flagellum Dei*³⁷, to execute the Divine Vengeance upon that wicked People the *Romans*, whom God had resolved to destroy, or at least to reduce very low: like as God is [sig.N4^b] said to stir up *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* to come up against *Jerusalem*³⁸.

I S A Y this could not be the *Devil*, because (as I have insisted upon it, so I do still) that he knows

nothing of what is to come; the *Devil* is no Prophet, he cannot foretell or predict, other than by probable Guesses, rational Consequences, and such Circumstances in which he can go farther than other People.

Y O U have an Example of this in the Sorceress *Jaquelinā*³⁹; she pretended to speak in the Name of the *Devil*, and sometimes to have the *Devil* speak in her, and so to give Answers as by an Oracle, and resolve Doubts and difficult Questions, which she did to Admiration; and thereby got both Fame and Money. Now it was observ'd that when People came to her with Doubts and difficult Cases, even such as none could resolve, relating to things past or present, her Answers were surprizing; but if they came to ask her any Opinion of things future, and what should be to come, the *Devil* was always Nonplust, and generally lyed in his Answers; so that none could depend upon any thing he said. In a word the *Devil* was not able to foretell any thing; and hence I infer, as I have always said, the *Devil* is no Prophet, he can predict nothing, for he knows nothing; and that if any Apparition comes to be seen or heard, who takes it upon to tell what should come to pass, you may depend upon it that Apparition is not from the *Devil*.

H E N C E I think we may readily account for that Story so well publish'd, whether so well known or no, of which Mr. *Aubrey*⁴⁰ has given us the last Relation, as follows:

" T W O Persons (Ladies) of Quality, both not being
" long since deceased, were intimate Acquaintance, and
" lov'd each other intirely: It so fell out, that one of
" them fell sick of the Small-Pox, and [sig.N5^d] desired
" mightily to see the other, who would not come, fearing
" the catching of them; the Afflicted at last dies of
" them: she had not been buried very long, but she
" appears at the other's House in the Dress of a Widow,
" and asks for her Friend who was then at Cards, but
" sends down her Woman to know her Business; who in short
" told her, she must impart it to none but her Lady, who
" after she had received this Answer, bid her Woman have
" her into a Room, and desire her to stay till the Game
" was done, and she would wait on her. The Game being
" done, and down Stairs she came to the Apparition, to
" know her Business. *Madam*, says the Ghost turning up her
" Veil, and her Face appearing full of the Small-Pox, *You*
" *know well that you and I lov'd intirely, and your not*
" *coming to see me I took so ill at your Hands, that I*
" *could not rest 'till I had seen you, and now I am come*
" *to tell you, that you have not long to live, therefore*
" *prepare to die; and when you are at a Feast, and make*
" *the thirteenth in Number, then remember ny Words; and*
" so the Apparition vanish'd. To conclude, she was at a
" Feast where she made the thirteenth Person in Number;
" and was afterwards asked by the deceased's Brother,

" whether his Sister did appear to her, as was reported;
" she made him no Answer, but fell a weeping, and died in
" a little time after. The Gentleman that told this
" Story, says, that there is hardly any Person of Quality
" but what knows it to be true.

I D O not enter into any Enquiry here whether the
Story is true or no, I believe it in Common, for it was
generally believ'd to be true: But 'tis strange to have
this brought for Evidence of the Prescience⁴¹ of the
Devil; whereas on the contrary it confirms what I have
said, viz. That this cou'd not be the *Devil*, or what we
call the Appearance of the De- [sig.N5^b] vil, no, nor
could it be the Soul of the departed Person; and for the
Apparition saying it could not be at Rest, either it may
be put in by some of the very many Authors relating the
Story; or it might be said by the good Angel or Spirit
appearing, to introduce her Message, and to rouze the
Mind of the Person spoken to by something that should
touch her more to the quick, be the more feeling, and
sensible to her, and so make a due Impression upon her of
the Truth of that which was to follow.

B U T first, for its not being the *Devil*; for I have
granted that the *Devil* may make an Apparition, tho' far
from inferring from thence that all Apparitions are
Devil: But I say as to its not being the *Devil* that

appear'd here, in the Shape of the deceas'd Lady, 'tis Evident.

F I R S T, Because, as I said above, and have repeated often, the *Devil* cannot predict, he has no Prescience of things before they are in View; he can juggle and play scurvy Tricks of many kinds, as when he prophesied to the Farmer the Fall of his Stack of Corn, and then rais'd a sudden Storm and blew it down⁴². It may be he can see at some farther Distance than we can, and judge of the Consequences of such and such Causes better than we can, and with a more perfect and exact Judgement. But to predict things which are only conceal'd in the Womb of Time, and behind the Curtain of Providence, as this of Life and Death was, it is not in *Satan* to do it; and therefore this could not be from the *Devil*: the Lady was in Health, was Chearful, nay Merry, was at a Feast and at Cards. Here was no Signal of Death, or so much as of Sickness: I see no token of the *Devil* in this Apparition; except it would be his extraordinary Civility that he would not interrupt her Game.

S E C O N D L Y, It could not be the *Devil*, because of his bidding the Lady prepare for Death; [sig.N6^a] which, as I have often observ'd, does not seem to be much of *Satan's* Business, and not being very suitable to his Disposition, and less to his Design.

T H E R E is some little Incongruity in this Story too, which renders it inconsistent, not with the *Devil* only, but even with the Nature of a Spirit or Apparition: As (1) Why should the Apparition come when the Lady was engag'd and could not speak to her? as if she, being a Ghost or a Spirit as we vulgarly express it, did not know what she was doing, as well as where she was? (2) How does her taking ill the living Lady's not visiting her, oblige her to come and give her this kind of Notice of her Death? *I took it so ill at your Hands, that I could not rest 'till I had seen you.*

T H O' this does not shock my Belief of the Apparition it self; yet it seems to hint that the several Hands thro' which the Relation had pass'd, have made up the Speech for the Ghost, and committed some Blunders in it, that are indeed shocking to the Reader.

I T seems more rational to be as I have read the Story, that the Ghost should say thus: *Tho' I took it very ill at your Hands that you wou'd not come to see me; yet I could not rest 'till I had seen you, to tell you that you have not long to live, and that you should prepare, &c.* This is much better Sense, and more agreeable to the Nature of the thing; for certainly coming in that manner to give the Lady Notice of the Approach of her End, and to counsel her to *Prepare accordingly*, must be allow'd to be an act of Kindness, not Resentment, and a Testimony to

the Affection that was between them; and therefore taking it ill that she had not been to Visit her in her Illness, could not rationally be given as a Reason for it.

B U T as to the Apparition it self, since it could not be the Soul of the deceas'd Lady, and for the [sig.N6^b] Reasons above was not likely to be the *Devil*, or I may venture to say positively was not the *Devil*; What then was it? I answer with a Question: What could it be but a good Angel, or Angelic Spirit from the Invisible World, sent with a Message of Goodness, and a merciful Notice of her Approaching Death; that she might receive a due caution, preparing her Mind and turning her Thoughts to a proper Meditation upon so serious a Subject; in a word, warning her of Death that she might prepare for it?

T H E Story⁴³ of Sir *John Borrough's*⁴⁴ Son, who forsaking a Mistress in *Italy* she murther'd her self, and then haunted him as long as he liv'd, this is of like kind with the rest; and tho' the *Devil* to worry and perplex him might take up the Appearance of his Whore, as well reproaching him with the Crime, as with her Tragical End; yet it goes no farther than this, that the *Devil* may appear, and may harrass and terrify those he appear'd to, and this I make no doubt of; and it rather adds to what is insisted on, I mean the Reality of Apparitions; but the *Devil* gave this Gentleman no good advice to repent,

or prepare, and the like; but only appear'd, fright'd, and terrify'd him to the very Day of his Death.

I T is also remarkable, that tho' this *Devil* in Apparition shewed it self to him the very Day of his Death, (for he was kill'd that Day in a Duel) yet it said not a word to him of what was to befall him, or of what he was going to do, and 'tis very probable he did not know it.

T H E R E is another Story⁴⁵ something but darkly recorded of *Charles VII* of *France*⁴⁶, which seems likely enough to be an Apparition of the *Devil*. That King had been distemper'd and very ill two or three times, but was recover'd again tolerably well, and was riding for the Benefit of the Air in the [sig.N7^a] Forest of *Mans*⁴⁷: On a sudden a Spectre starts up or out of the Woods, being a tall meager ill-look'd old Man, of ghastly Countenance and half naked, and coming directly to the King takes hold of his Horse's Bridle, and says, *Stop, King: Whether go you? you are betray'd*: and then immediately vanished. Now first of all, this was a falsehood in Fact, for the King was not betray'd by any body; neither was there any Plot against him, or against any that belong'd to him, ever heard or before, or afterwards; on the contrary, *Secondly*, his Reign was at that time peaceable and quiet, his Subjects all easy; and for his Person, he had so few

Enemies that he was call'd *Charles the Beloved*, and was exceedingly tendred by the generality of his People.

A G O O D Spirit, and Angelic Spirit, one of the Sacred Guard I have suppos'd to be placed about this Earth, or in the Regions Adjacent, and employed by their Bountiful Maker for the good of Mankind, would never have come in such a manner, surprizing, and at unawares. It would never have put on a fierce and frightful Countenance, thus to have terrified a poor distemper'd Prince, whose Brain was already disorder'd; taking the advantage of his Weakness, and so to encrease the Frenzy and Distraction of his Mind even to his Destruction, for he never more perfectly recover'd his Senses.

T H I S mightily differ'd from the Conduct of the several Spirits appearing in the Examples mention'd before, and who kindly warn'd the Persons of Danger, foretold Events that they might avoid them, or prepare for the Consequences; in a word, this was an Apparition purely *Devilish*, for it was meerly to do Evil, and to the ruin of the Person to whom it appear'd.

I T H I N K nothing can be a juster Rule for us to distinguish Apparitions by: the Evil Spirit, *Devil* [sig.N7^b] like, comes to deceive, he is the Father of Lyes; and comes to do hurt, he is a Lover and the Author of Mischief. The good Spirit is from God, the Fountain of all Good, and appears always for good and merciful

Purposes; and this I think is a just Observation, and a Rule for us to judge of the Nature of whatever Apparitions we hear of.

C H A P. X.

Of the different Nature of Apparitions; how we should behave to them; when to be afraid or concern'd about them, and when not.

D A N G E R may be the Reason of Caution; but Guilty only is the reason of Fear. Caution is the Mind's just Regard to the Evil in view; but Fear is a Horror of the Soul, in apprehension of some farther Evil yet out of view; unseen, and therefore terrible; merited, and therefore dreadful.

I F there were no Guilt in the Mind, Death it self would be no Evil, and therefore neat the Subject of our Fear; nor is Death it self our Fear now as it is in it self a meer passing out of life, otherwise than as it is an inlet of some terrible State beyond it. It is not what we pass out of, that is the bitterness, but what we pass into; not what we part with, but what the Exchange will be; not the leap out of Light, but the leap into the Dark: and to come nearer to it, the Thought of what is

beyond Death is only made better or worse by what we know on this side of it; the Dread of what is to come, is founded on our conscious sense of what is past.

T H I S State beyond Death is made our Terror, as we expect in it the Punishment of Offenses, a [sig.N8^d] Retribution for an ill-spent Life, and as we have upon our Minds a Sense of Guilt; that is to say, a Conscience of having ill-spent our past time, and dreading the Justice of the Superior Hand, in whom is the Power of Rewards and Punishments. Now to bring it to the case in Hand.

A L L Apparition is look'd upon as *a something* coming, or sent to us, from that State of *Being* which is beyond Death, and therefore is look'd upon with the same Terror and Fright, which we are seiz'd with at the Thought of Death it self.

H E N C E, if we could consider calmly the Nature of the Apparition which we see, we might presently know whether we had reason to be terrified at the Apparition, yea or no: If the Apparition comes with a Message of Peace, if it reprehends with Kindness and Tenderness, if it admonishes with Gentleness, and gives Advice to amend and reform, it certainly comes from a good Hand, and we need to be under no concern at all about it, because it has no Evil in it self.

I F it comes in all its threatening Postures, ghastly as the *Devil* can make it, horrible as himself in Person; yet were there no Guilt there would be no fear from the Apparition, or even from the *Devil* appearing in Person; because we should know ourselves to be out of his Power.

A S then the Good or Evil of the Message, which the Apparition brings, distinguishes the Apparition it self, and tells us of what kind it is; so as our Minds are, or are not intimidated by our own Guilt, so we have or have not reason to be surpriz'd at the Appearance of a Messenger, or Messengers, from the invisible World, or at whatever he shall say.

Hic murus aheneus esto,
*Nil conscire sibi nulla palescere culpa*¹ [sig.N8^b]

M R. *Aubrey* gives us the Story² in his *Miscellanea* of the Apparition to *Cashio Burroughs*, Esq; in the time of King *Charles I*, and which I hinted at just now on another occasion; the Story is as follows:

" S I R *John Burroughs* being sent Envoy to the Emperor
" by King *Charles I*. did take his Eldest Son *Cashio*
" *Burroughs* along with him; and taking his Journey
" through *Italy* left his said Son at *Florence*, to learn
" the Language; where he having an Intrigue with a
" beautiful Courtisan, Mistress to the Grand Duke, their

" Familiarity became so publick, that it came to the
" Duke's Ear, who took a Resolution to have him murder'd;
" but *Cashio* having had timely notice of the Duke's
" Design, by some of the *English* there, immediately left
" the City without acquainting his Mistress of it, and
" came to *England*. Whereupon the Duke being disappointed
" of his Revenge fell upon his Mistress in most
" reproachful Language: She, on the other, side resenting
" the sudden departure of her Gallant, of whom she was
" passionately enamour'd, killed her self. At the same
" Moment she expired she did appear to *Cashio* at his
" Lodgings in *London*. Colonel *Remes*³ was then in Bed with
" him, who saw her as well as he, giving him an account
" of her Resentments of his Ingratitude to her, in
" leaving her so suddenly, and exposing her to the Fury
" of the Duke; not omitting her own Tragical *Exit*; adding
" withall, that he should be slain in a Duel; which
" accordingly happen'd: And thus she appear'd to
" him frequently, even when his younger Brother⁴ (who
" afterwards was Sir *John*) was in Bed with him. As often
" as she did appear he would cry out with great Shrieking
" and Trembling of his Body, as well as Anguish of Mind,
" saying, O G O D ! here *she comes, she comes!* and at
" this rate she appear'd 'till he was [sig.O1^d] kill'd.
" She appear'd to him the Morning before he was killed.
" Some of my Acquaintance (says *Aubrey*) have told me,

" that he was one of the handsomest Men in *England*, and
" very Valiant.

T H E Appearance of this *Devil*, for I can call it no other, had nothing in View but to harrass, plague and affright the Gentleman: Perhaps expecting it should bring him into some fit of Desperation; so to destroy himself, as the Woman who appear'd had done before.

T H E Gentleman whom it appear'd to, was conscious of Crime; the Woman in whose shape the *Devil* harrass'd him was a *Courtesan*, that is in *English* a Common Woman, with whom he had an Intrigue in *Italy*: He had not only been dishonest with her, but it seems had been dishonest to her; and the last, with the assistance of the *Devil*, had it seems work'd so upon her Rage as to cause her to be her own Executioner; and I take the Apparition to be the *Devil* pursuing the same Management, and endeavouring to produce the same Effect upon him.

N O W see the Consequence of Crime: the sense of Guilt makes this Apparition dreadful to him; when it appear'd, he trembles, falls into Convulsions, cries out, O
G O D ! here she comes! and in a word, is in an Agony of horror and affright.

H A D he only convers'd with the Lady as a common Acquaintance, had he neither been concern'd with her, or had done any dishonourable thing by her, he had natural

Courage to have look'd the *Devil* in the Face, and boldly have ask'd *what business she could have with him.*

I H A V E read of a Story⁵ of a very religious Lady, who the *Devil*, it seems, had some particular Picque at, and set his Stratagems at work to ruin her, both Soul and Body. He attack'd her in a hundred several ways in Covert, as I may call it, [sig.01^b] that is to say by Attempts to draw her into Crime, alluring her, and laying Snares for her of several kinds. But when he found himself steadily resisted by the Lady's resolv'd Virtue, Modesty and Temperance, he attack'd her in Person with frightful Apparitions, assuming ugly and terrible Shapes; and once appearing all in Fire, with a frightful threatning Voice, he told her he was come to fetch her away: The Lady had a secret Spirit of Courage and Resolution came upon her at the very Moment, and, as we say in other cases, brisking up to him as if she would fight him; Resist the *Devil*, says she, and he shall flee from us! come for me! added she, I'll venture that! for I am sure thou liest, *Satan*, thou hast nothing to do with me.

T H E *Devil* call'd her Whore, and told her she lov'd such a Man, who was a marry'd Man, and therefore she had intentionally committed Whoredom with him, and should be damn'd.

N. B. *It seems the Lady had lov'd that Gentleman before he was otherwise engag'd, by marrying; but had never had any Thought towards him, or the least Acquaintance with him, afterwards.*

T H O U showest thyself, says she, to be full of Subtilty, a real Devil, and even Malice itself: it is true, I did love that Gentleman, says she, and thou settdest him to work to persuade me that he lov'd me, and to court me with honourable Pretensions, and so far gain'd upon me, that I really lov'd him; but-----

H E R E he interrupted her, and told her, Such a time, says the Devil, you wish'd you were a-bed with him, and you are as guilty by wishing to Sin, as if you had done it.

T H O U art the Father of Lies, Satan, says she, and the Father of Lyars, and thou liest in this; nay, thou liest like a Devil, that is maliciously, for thou knowest that is not true. [sig.02³]

Y O U will be damn'd, says he, and I will take you away this minute.

T H O U canst not take me away without God's Permission, says she, and he will not give me into they Hands: therefore touch me at this Peril: and with that she fell down on her Knees, and cry'd,

L O R D, *preserve me from the evil Spirit:* with which the Devil left her, and walk'd off.

T H E S E Apparitions that may be call'd Apparitions of the *Devils* indeed, and by his Works you may know him, for this is acting like himself; but where there is no Guilt we need not be afraid of the *Devil*, in whatever Shape or frightful Figure he thinks to attack us in.

T H I S Lady had never been able to reproach *Satan* with Lying, if what he said had been true; but she knew herself innocent, and that put Courage into her Soul, that she indeed Bully'd the *Devil*, defy'd him, and bad him do his worst.

I T seems the *Devil* rumag'd hard to find a Crime out to charge this Lady with, and came up to her very close; but he was put to his shifts for his Evidence; for even in collecting all the Actions of her Life, he could not find any thing of real Guilt to load her with.

H E attack'd her after this in several Shapes, and one time told her she would be damn'd for a Hypocrite; for, say he, for all your pretended Sanctity you was in a violent Passion at such a time, and you curst you Cousin ----- naming her Name to her.

S H E answer'd, as before, boldly; And *Satan*. says she, tho' you are a Devil, and cannot be asham'd, yet you are too cunning and too knowing to act like a Fool; I was angry, but in no Passion; and for my Anger I had just cause; but thou wast the causer of the Crime, and so of the Anger too: For she own'd the *Devil* tempted my

Kinswoman to rob [sig.02^b] me, so thou hast been the Occasion both of her Sin, and of my Anger.

B U T you curs'd her, and wish'd the *Devil* (meaning me, says he) might take her.

T H A T'S like thee again, *Devil*, says the *Lady*; I was far from wishing thou shouldst take her, I am not so much thy Friend to wish thou shouldst be gratified in any one's Ruin. But I told her, indeed, if she did such things, thou wouldst take her away.

B U T you ly'd in that, says he, for I won't hurt her.

I A M sorry, says she, thou art so much her Friend.

S H E is mine already, adds the *Devil*, I shall not do her any harm.

V E R Y well, *Devil*, says she; then I hope I am out of your List, or why else are you raging at me?

Y E S, yes, says he, you shall be mine quickly, as well as she.

I D E F Y thee, says she again, and I'll tell the poor Girl what you say of her. I hope she will get out of your Hands again.

T H E N I'll break her Neck at that Minute, says he.

T H A T'S not in your Power, says the *Lady*.

W E L L, but, says he, you play'd at Cards on *Sunday* Morning last.

S H E was a little surpriz'd at the Charge, and stop'd a-while; but recovering her Courage, 'Tis strange, *Devil*,

says she, thou canst bring nothing but Lyes against me; why, I have Faults enough, that are real Faults, and true, and that I could not deny. Why I think *Satan's* turn'd Fool, adds she, as if she jeer'd him. Why don't you fall upon me in those Things I am guilty of? and not make Lyes [sig.03^a] for the sake of lying? I did play at Cards a *Saturday* Night, but not a *Sunday* Morning.

B U T, said he, you play'd at Cards against your Conscience too, when you believ'd it was a Sin to play, and you will be damn'd for that.

W H Y truly, *Devil*, says she, you go nearest the Truth in this of any thing you have said; for after our Minister's talking against Play, one Evening, he so far persuaded me that it was not lawful, that I did resolve to leave it off.

B U T you broke your Word, and play'd again; and did it, I tell you, against your Conscience.

I D I D not tie myself by any Promise, but I did question a little, indeed, whether I should play any more or no.

Y E S, and did it against your Conscience, I tell you, and you shall be damn'd for that.

H E R E the Lady could not refrain Tears; but still she answer'd the *Devil* boldly: as thou art a Lyar, Satan, I hope I shall not, because thou sayest I shall. However, thou shall never have it to upbraid me again; for tho' I

did not promise to Man, I now promise it to the *Devil*, I will never play more.

I T'S too late now, says *he*, and threatened her again.

N O, *Satan*, says *she*, never too late for any one to Repent, but *Thee*; and thou shalt never Repent, or be Forgiven.

W I T H this, says my Story, the *Devil* left her. I have taken this, by Abridgment, for a very large Account of the several Disputes this courageous Lady had with the *Devil* for some Years; which if I could assert the Particulars so as to be sure of the Truth of every Part, and of my own Knowledge too, I should make farther use here; but thus far they are to the present Occasion, namely, [sig.03^b]

1. T H A T where the *Devil* appears, he always does it like a *Devil*, for some wicked Purpose or other.

2. W H E R E he cannot prevail and excite to do Mischief, he assaults with Rage, and threatens with suffering Mischief.

T H E good Spirits or good Angels are quiet of another Kind; and as they come, or are sent from other Hands, so they come of other Errands and in another manner, as I shall give a more particular Account of presently.

B U T let us from hence enquire into an Opinion which I have met with, and that of some Men of Learning and Judgement, viz. That take the Apparitions in general,

whether of good or bad Spirits, they never, or very rarely, do any harm. As for the good Spirits we know, as above, they will do none; and if the bad do not, 'tis because they can't.

T H E good Spirits, 'tis certain, will do no harm; it is by their general appearing for good, that we determine them to be good Spirits; and that kind of Judgement is certainly very just: but if the evil Spirits, which do appear, do no harm neither, it is because they are under some extraordinary restraint of Divine Power; so that tho' they may come about in the Air, they are not suffer'd to do any considerable Mischief in the World. In both which cases all the Occasion of our Terror about them is taken away; for whether they are good Spirits, or evil Spirits restrain'd, 'tis much the same; one will do you no hurt, and the other cannot; and there remains no room then for the Pannick, which is so much upon us, when we hear of them.

I T is true the Angels have sometimes been sent in Judgement from heaven, and have executed God's terrible Threatnings upon Men in an [sig.04^d] apparent Shape; as the Angel call'd the Destroying Angel, which *David* saw in the Air, with his Sword drawn and stretch'd over *Jerusalem* to destroy it, 1*Chron.* xxi. 1₅⁶. So the Angel of the Lord that flew 18000 of the *Assyrians* in one Night⁷; and it is not improbable that an Host of Angels

or Apparitions appear'd in the *Assyrian* Camp, and cut in Pieces the *Assyrian* Army, with a Terror that they were not able to resist.

T H E S E are extraordinary and miraculous Cases; so likewise is that when the Angel appear'd to *Balaam* with a flaming Sword, and told him if the Ass had not turn'd away from him, he (the Angel) had slain him, *Numb. xxii.*

33. But we are not now speaking of Angels sent out with especial Commissions to execute God's Vengeance, but of the Apparition of good Spirits or Angels from the invisible World of Spirits, who frequently appear, and sometimes upon very small and trifling Occasions, and who visit People as well by Night as by Day; this we call Walking, and Apparition, and this is such as is the Subject of our present Enquiry.

O F these it is that I say, however they may disturb us, and however terrified we are about them, they very rarely do any harm.

I H A V E heard of an Apparition⁸ which came to a Farmer in *Surrey*, and threatned him that he would burn his House and his Barn, and all his Corn and Hay; what his Pretences were the Story does not relate, or what the poor Farmer had done to disoblige him; but the Man was, it seems, in the utmost Consternation, and expostulated with the Apparition a great while; but at last he pluck'd

up his Spirits, and spoke with a little more Courage to it.

W H A T art thou, says he, that threatnest me thus without a cause, and sayest thou wilt ruin me, [sig.04^b] notwithstanding I never did thee any wrong? thou shouldst be the *Devil*, by thy usage of me, for good Spirits never do any Injustice.

T O this the *Devil* answer'd in a long, and to appearance, a threatning Speech, but in a Language the poor Man did not understand one Word of.

I K N O W not what thou sayest, says the *Farmer*, but I tell thee again thou seem'st to me to be the *Devil*, or one of his Angels, and I suppose one of those are Words understood in the bottomless Pit; but threaten me no more with thy Rage, and with burning my House and Corn; thou art a great Dragon indeed, but thou art chain'd, and canst do nothing but what thou art permitted to do by thy Maker, and I fear thee not. Upon which the poor Man pray'd Mentally that he might be deliver'd from the Power of the *Devil*, and away run the Spectre, and did him no harm.

T H I S was certainly a commendable Courage, and had something of the Christian in it too; and such a Courage, and upon the like Foundation, would, for ought I know, lay all the *Devils* that ever walk'd, and drive away all

the Apparitions and Spirits that People are so terribly haunted with, and so terrify'd about.

C H A P. XI.

Of Apparitions in Dream, and how far they are or are not real Apparitions.

T H E R E may be Dreams without Apparition, as there may be Apparitions without Dreams; but Apparition in Dream may be as really an Apparition as if the Person who saw it was awake: The difference may be here, that the Apparition [sig.05^d] in a Dream is visible to the Soul only, for the Soul never sleeps; and an Apparition to the Eyesight is visible in common Perspective.

H O W is it then that we see in our Dreams the very Faces and Dress of the Person we dream of; nay, hear their Voices, and receive due Impressions from what they say, and oftentimes speak to them with our own Voices articulately and audibly, tho' we are fast asleep? What secret Power of Imagination is able to represent the Image of any Person to itself, if there was not some Appearance, something plac'd in the Soul's view, by a secret, but invisible Hand, and in an imperceptible manner? which Something is in all Respects, and to all

Purposes, as compleatly an Apparition, as if it was plac'd in open sight when the Person was awake.

T H E Scripture confirms this Opinion by many Expressions directly to the purpose, and particularly this of Appearing, or Apparition in Dream. Gen. xx. 3. *God came to Abimelech in a Dream*; had it been said that *Abimelech dream'd* that God came to him, there might have been some exception to the Parallel; but God actually *came to him*: and what tho' *Abimelech* was asleep, and in a Dream, it was not the less an Apparition, for *God came to him*, and spoke, and said to him: and in the 4th Verse *Abimelech* spoke to the Apparition. Whatever the Shape was, that the Text does not mention; but *Abimelech* knew who he talk'd with too, that's evident, for the Text mentions it fully, *And he said, L O R D, wilt thou slay also a righteous Nation?* and so he goes on, Verse the fifth, to expostulate and plead for himself and his People, *said he not unto me, she is my Sister?* so that he knew he was speaking to the Lord. The Text is very remarkable, it is plain that there was an Apparition, but the Man was asleep and in a Dream. [sig.05^b]

A G A I N in the case of *Laban* pursuing *Jacob*, Gen. xxxi. 24. *God came to Laban the Syrian in a Dream by Night, and said unto him*. Here again is an Apparition, and a speaking Apparition too; G O D came to him, and

G O D spoke to him; and *Laban* owns, not that he dream'd of God's appearing, but that God really spoke to him, v. 29. *The God of your Father spake to me Yester-night, saying.*

C E R T A I N L Y Dreams in those Days were another kind of thing than they are now. God spoke to them, and they answer'd; and when they were awake they that it was God that spoke, and gave heed to the Vision or Apparition of God to them.

T H E R E are many more Instance of the like in the sacred History; as first in the remarkable case of King *Solomon*, 1 *Kings* iii. 5. *The Lord appeared to Solomon in a Dream by Night, and G O D said, ask what I shall give thee.*

T H I S is call'd in the Scripture a Dream, v. 15. *and Solomon awoke, and behold it was a Dream;* and yet it is all confirmed; and the Petition that *Solomon* made, tho' in his Sleep, or Dream, is accepted and answer'd as his real Act and Deed, as if he had been awake. A good hint, by the way, that we may both please and offend in our Dreams, as really as we were awake; but that is a hint, I say, by itself.

T H A T Passage of *Solomon* is very remarkable to the case in hand. If my Readers please to believe that there was such a Man as *Solomon*, and that he had such a Dream;

they must allow also that it was a real Apparition, God appeared to him in a Dream.

T O bring it down a step lower: as God has thus Personally appeared to Men in Dreams, so have inferior Spirits, and we have examples of this too in the Scripture. *Matt. i. 20. While he thought on [sig.O6^a] these Things, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a D R E A M:* and again, *Matt. ii. 13. Behold the Angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in a Dream, saying:* and a third time 'tis repeated, the Angel came again to him in *Ægypt, v. 13. of the same Chapter; when Herod was dead, Behold an Angel of the Lord appeareth in a Dream to Joseph in Ægypt.*

I W I L L for once suppose, that no Man need desire any farther Evidence than these for the Reality of the thing it self; we may bring it down from hence to just Parallels to Matters within our own Reach, Experience will furnish us with particular Passages sufficient; and some Account I shall give you within the Compass of our own Times; in which if I do as much as possible, as I have done all along, omit all those Accounts which others have publish'd, referring you to those Publications for the particulars, and only give you new and more modern Accounts, such as come within the Verge of my own Knowledge, or of the Knowledge of such as I have good Reason to give Credit to; I believe the Variety will be

as acceptable, and much more useful than a bare Repeating of what others have said. If I find it needful to quote what others have publish'd, you shall have it justly mark'd as a Quotation, that you may search for the Truth in its Original.

B U T before I come to Quotation, or to Collection of Story, 'tis needful to observe here also, that as it has pleas'd God to appear in this Manner, and to cause Angels to appear also in the same Manner, and upon special Occasions, so I make no Question but the *Devil* often appears in Dreams too; and I might give but too many Examples of it, as particularly one in the Scripture.

I T is apparent that God gave *Satan* a kind of general License to afflict *Job*, only not to kill him; with such a terrible Commission it might be ex- [sig.06^b] pected the *Devil* would fall upon him with the utmost Fury he was capable of, or at least that he was allow'd to take; he ruin'd his Fortunes, reduc'd him to Misery, murther'd his Children, tormented him with Boils and Sores; in short, left him nothing but Potsherds, and an ill Wife to relieve him; and as he worry'd him, to use a modern Phrase, *within an inch of his Life*, he follow'd him in the Night with Apparition, lest he should recruit Nature with Rest, and be a little refresh'd with Sleep. *Job* himself complains of it, *Job vii. 14. Thou scarest me with D R E A M S, and terrifiest me with V I S I O N S.*

Not that G O D appear'd to *Job* in any frightful or terrible Form; but the *Devil*, to whom God was pleas'd to give a Liberty of afflicting *Job*, took that Liberty, and exerted his Malice to the utmost in such a Manner. We are not indeed told what Methods the *Devil* took to scare and terrifie that poor distress'd Sufferer; but as he can show us nothing uglier, and more frightful than himself, so it is very likely he appear'd to him in Person, and that in the most surprizing Manner possible, with all the Circumstances of Horror that he was able.

'T I S thought by some, who critically note that Part of the Text where *Pilate's* Wife warn'd her Husband to have nothing to do in condemning Christ to be crucified, that it was the *Devil* that stirr'd her up to oppose it. *Satan*, as soon as he perceiv'd the Death of Christ, however intended for Mischief by the *Jews*, and pursued violently by them in their Rage and Malice at our Lord personally, was yet a thing appointed by the determinate Council of God, for the Salvation of Mankind: I say, as soon as he perceiv'd that Part, which 'tis probable he did not know before, he strove all he could to prevent it; and as fierce as he had been to irritate the *Jews* before, and raise their [sig.07^d] Fury and Malice up to a Pitch, even to almost rabballing the Governor into it; now he under-hand strove to prevent it, and us'd this Stratagem among others by attacking *Pilate's* Wife in the

Night, and setting her to persuade her Husband, that he was going to deliver up an innocent Person to gratifie the *Jews*; and that he should have a care what he did. Matt. xxvii. 19. *When he was set down on the Judgement-seat, his Wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just Man: For I have suffer'd many things this Day in a Dream, because of him.*

W H E T H E R it was so or not, 'tis very probable the many things she suffer'd must be from the *Devil*; because Heaven, by whose determinate Council and Fore-knowledge the Death of Christ was appointed, would have done nothing to have prevented or interrupted his own Appointment.

N O W as the Dreams in those Days, and our Dreams at this Time, are exceedingly different; and that as our Heads are so full of impertinent Thoughts in the Day, which in proportion crowd the Imagination at Night, so our Dreams are trifling and foolish: How shall we do to know when they are to be taken Notice of, and when not? When there is a real Apparition haunting us, or showing it self, to us when and not? in a word, when an Angel, or when a *Devil*, appears to us in a Dream?

I T is a nice Question, and as it does not particularly relate to the present Enquiry, so it would require too long a Digression to discourse Critically upon it; but I shall dismiss it with this short Answer, We must judge,

as I said before in the Case of open Apparitions, by the Weight, and by the Nature of the Message or Errand which the Apparition comes about; evil Messengers seldom come of good Errands, and Angels good or bad seldom come on trifling Messages. [sig.07^b]

T R I F L I N G Dreams are the Product of the Mind being engag'd in trifling Matters; a Child dreams of its Play, a House-wife dreams of her Kitchen, a Nurse of the Children, a Tradesman of his Shop; these have noting of Apparition in them; nothing of Angels or Spirits, God or Devil; but when Dream comes up to Vision, and the Soul is embark'd in a superior Degree, to a Commerce above the ordinary Rate, then you may conclude you have some extraordinary Visitors, that you have been in some good or bad Company in the Night, and you are left to judge of what kind, by the Substance or Tenour of the Vision. If it be to open the Understanding, to encrease Knowledge, to seal Instruction; in a word, if it is for direction to good Actions, or stirring up the Soul of Man to perform his Duty to God or Man, 'tis certainly from above; 'tis an Apparition from God, 'tis a Vision of Angels and good Spirits. Job xxxiii. 15. *In a Dream, in a Vision of the Night, when deep Sleep falleth upon Men, in slumberings upon the Bed.*

I F it be an Allurement to Vice, laying before you an Opportunity to steal, presenting an Object of Beauty, an

Inticement to commit an unlawful Action; depend upon it 'tis from the dark Regions, 'tis an Apparition of the *Devil*, and he employs his Agents, and perhaps attends in Person to draw you into Mischief.

N. B. Here 'tis worth a wise Man's considering, whether the *Devil* representing a Temptation to any Person in a Dream, and the Person complying, he is not guilty of the Fact as really as if he had been awake. I leave it only as a Head of Reflection: For Example,

T H E *Devil*, subtle in his Contrivance, as well as vigilant in Application of Circumstances, knows a Man to be in perplex'd Circumstances¹, distress'd for [sig.08^d] want of Money, a perishing Family, a craving Necessity; he comes in his Sleep and presents himself with a little Child dress'd up in Jewels of a great Value, and a Purse of Gold in its Hand, and all this is happening in a Place perfectly opportune for the Purpose, the Nurse having negligently left the Child out of her Sight.

A S he presents the Temptation, he stands at the Person's Elbow; prompts him; says, Take away that Chain or String of Pearl, and the Purse, the Child is alone, it can tell no Tales, take it quickly; are not you in Distress, and do you not want it at this time to an Extremity, and can any one ever discover it? the Child's Friends are rich, it will do them no hurt; if they valu'd

such things, they would never have put them about a little Child, it is no great Matter to them; besides 'tis due to their Vanity and Ostentation, which was the only reason of dressing a little Child up in such a Manner. Come, come, take it up quickly, it may save you from Ruin, and as soon as you are able, you may make them Satisfaction again, and so discharge your Conscience. The Man, unable to resist the Snare, consents, strips the innocent Child of its Ornaments, and goes away unseen; but in a Moment or two wakes with the Surprise, sees it is a Cheat, and looks back on it with double Regret. 1. That he is disappointed of the Prize which he wanted, and fancy'd himself reliev'd by. 2. That the *Devil* Triumphs over him, and he is both deluded into the Crime, and deceived in the Expectation of its Reward.

I C O U L D give this in the Form of a Relation of Fact, and give Evidence of the Truth of it; for I had the Account of it from the Person's own Lips, who was attack'd in his Sleep, and (as he said with a sincere Affliction) yielded to the Temptation; and I committed the barbarous Robbery, *said he*, [sig.O8^b] with the utmost Resentment; I plunder'd and strip'd the poor smiling Infant, who innocently play'd with me when I took off its Ornaments, gave the me Purse of Gold out of its little Pocket, and bid me keep it for her to play with. I robb'd it, *says he*, in my Imagination, and deserve as

much to be hang'd for it, as if I had actually committed the horrid Fact at Noon-day; Ay, says he, with a kind of Tremor in his Conscience from the Horror of the Fact, I ought to be hang'd for it, and to be damn'd for it too, for as I really and effectually did it as if I had been apprehended and carry'd to *Newgate* for it.

I T is true, it gave him a particular Satisfaction, with respect to his Personal Safety, that he had not committed the Fact; but it gave him no less Trouble in his Conscience, than if he had been actually guilty.

W H A T was this but an Apparition of the *Devil*, a real visible Apparition! visible to the Mind, tho' not to the Body? and that in a double Capacity too; the *Devil without* in the Temptation, and the *Devil within* yielding to it.

I K N O W another living Example of this kind, and I had that Part too from the Person himself²: He was a sober religious Gentleman; he was in the letter of it a single Man; for tho' he had been unhappily married, he liv'd in a separate State from his Wife; and, to say no more of it, upon a justifiable Occasion, namely, that his Wife was wickedly gone away, as he suppos'd, with another Man.

B E F O R E he was marry'd to the unhappy Woman, he had lov'd a very handsome beautiful Lady, and had gone so far as to court her a long time for Marriage; but some

Difficulty in their Circumstances prevented their coming together, and he took another; which the first Lady resented so, as that it cost her too dear, for she soon died after.

T H E Affliction of this was very heavy to him, [sig.Pl^d] after he found himself abus'd in his real Marriage, as above. I say after, for at first it seems it was not. Under the melancholy Reflections of these Circumstances, which frequently loaded his Mind, He dreams one Night, that his former Mistress came to him with a smiling Countenance; I might have express'd it rather, that his former Mistress *appear'd to him in a Dream*, and with a smiling chearful Countenance, told him, that his Run-away Wife was Dead, and now you are mine, says the Apparition. He receiv'd the News with a particular Satisfaction, and embrac'd the Lady, as his former Inclinations dictated to him; he had not the least Notion, as he protested solemnly, or the least Remembrance that she was dead.

W H E N he awak'd, and found it all a Dream, he was exceedingly afflicted with the Surprise; looking upon himself to be as really Guilty, as if he had been awake, and the Lady alive; and I cannot but say he had some Reason.

W H E T H E R this, if really True, could be any thing but an Apparition of an evil Spirit; the *Devil* laying a

Snare for him, and prevailing with him in a Dream in a manner, and to commit a Crime, which he could not prevail with him to be guilty of when she was alive.

I C O U L D give an Account of another Person³, whom the *Devil* haunted frequently, and that for many Years together, with lewd Apparitions; tempting him in his Sleep with the Company of beautiful Women, sometimes naked, sometimes even in Bed with him; and at other times in Conversation prompting him to Wickedness, and that sometimes he was prevail'd upon to consent; but always happily prevented by waking in time: But the Case has on two or three Occasions been mention'd by other Hands, and the Person is too much know to allow the farther Description of it, without his Consent. [sig.Pl^b]

I C A N N O T doubt but these things are stated formal Apparitions of the *Devil*; and tho' the Person may be asleep, and not thoroughly sensible of either what he is doing, or of what is doing with him, yet that the evil Spirit is actually present with him in Apparition, I think will not admit of any Question.

T H E World is too full of Examples of this kind, to enter into a long Account of the Particulars. There is hardly a Book upon the Subject but is filled up with historical Relations; hardly a Person to be convers'd with upon the Subject, but is full of them, either for themselves or some of their Acquaintance; and every one

is rendering their Dreams to be considerable, and all to come to pass: But out of five hundred Dreams so told, and which so much Stress is seemingly laid on, 'tis hard to find one that we call a real Apparition in Dream.

T H E great, and perhaps one of the greatest Difficulties of Life, I mean that relates to Dreams, is to distinguish between such as are real Apparitions, and such as are only the Product of an incumber'd Brain, a distemper'd Head, or which is worse, a distemper'd Mind: But some Dreams are so significant, and there follows such an immediate invisible Effect answering the design'd illumination, that it cannot but be significant.

A C E R T A I N Gentleman⁴ who had lately buried his Wife, a Lady of great Piety and Virtue, was so exceedingly afflicted at his Loss, that among other melancholy things which were the Effect of it, this was one; that he was so far from desiring to marry again, that he entertained a settled riveted Aversion to the whole Sex, and was never thoroughly easie in their Company; and thus he liv'd near two Years. [sig.P2^d]

A F T E R a certain time his Wife appear'd to him in his Dream, or he dream'd that he saw his Wife; but I rather put it in the first Sense: She came to him, as he thought, to the Bedside, with a smiling and pleasant Countenance, and calling him by the Term which she always gave him, *My Dearest*.

H E was in a great Consternation, but could not speak to her; but she said, Do not be afraid of me, I will do you no Hurt; and then said, What is the Reason that you mourn thus for me?

He still said nothing; that is to say, he dream'd that he said nothing, but that he fetch'd a deep Sigh.

C O M E, Come, says *she*, Friends lost are Friends lost, and cannot be recalled.

T H E N he spoke, *that is dream'd that he spoke*, and ask'd her, why she appear'd to him.

S H E said, to put and End to this unreasonable Grief.

H O W can that be? says *he*. You now encrease my Grief, by bringing your self thus to my Remembrance.

N O, no, says *she*, you must forget me, and pray take another Wife, which will be the way to cause you to forget me effectually.

N O, no, said *he*, that I can never do; and how can you desire it of me?

Y E S, says *she*, I do desire it of you, and I come to direct you whom you shall have.

H E desir'd she would talk no more to him; for, says *he*, you cannot be my Wife; it must be some evil Spirit come to tempt me in such a Shape, and to destroy me.

W I T H that she seem'd to weep, and to pity him.

H E sigh'd again, and desir'd that if she was able to retain any Affection to him in the Condition she

[sig.P2^b] was then in, that she would show it by coming no more to disorder him in that manner.

S H E said, Well, I will trouble you no more, if you listen to the Directions I shall now give you, and will perform them.

W H A T are they? *says he.*

O N the first *Wednesday* in *October*, *says she*, you will be invited to Dinner at such a House, there you will see a Gentlewoman dress'd in white sit over-against you at the Table; she shall be your Wife, and she will be a kind Mother to my Children.

I T seems she gave other Particulars of the Gentlewoman's Dress, and in particular that she would drink to him; all which came to pass accordingly.

A F T E R she had said this, she disappeared; the Story does not say she went away with a melodious Sound, or with rich Perfumes, or the like, as is pretended often in such like Cases; nor do I remember to have heard that he married the Person, tho' he really saw her at the Feast.

B U T the Question from all this Story is only this, viz. Whether, supposing the Case to be literally true, this was an Apparition, or was it only a simple Dream? I affirm it must be an Apparition, that is to say, a Spirit came to him in the Person of, or personating his Wife.

T H E following Story⁵ I had from the Mouth of the very Person chiefly concerned in it, I mean the Captain of the Ship itself.

O N E Captain *Thomas Rodgers*, Commander of a Ship called the *Society*, was bound on a Voyage from *London* to *Virginia* about the year 1694.

T H E Ship was hired in *London*, and being sent light, as they call it, to *Virginia* for a Loading of Tobacco, had not many Good in her outward bound, suppose about two or three hundred Ton, which was not counted a Loading, or indeed half her [sig.P3^d] Loading; the Ship being very large, above five hundred Ton Burthen.

T H E Y had had a pretty good Passage, and the Day before had had an Observation, whereupon the Mates and proper Officers brought their Books and cast up their Reckonings with the Captain, to see how near they were to the Coasts of *America*; they all agreed that they were at least about an hundred Leagues Distance from the Capes of *Virginia*. Upon these customary Reckonings, and withall heaving the Lead⁶, and finding no Ground at an hundred Fathom⁷, they set the Watch, and the Captain turn'd in (as they call it at Sea) that is, went to Bed.

T H E Weather was good, a moderate Gale of Wind, and blowing fair for the Coast, so that the Ship might have run about twelve or fifteen Leagues in the Night after the Captain was in his Cabin.

H E fell asleep, and slept very soundly for about three Hours, when he waked again, and lay 'till he heard the second Mate⁸ *turn out*⁹, and relieve the Watch; and then he call'd his chief Mate as he was going off from the Watch, and ask'd him how all things far'd; who answer'd, that all was well, and the Gale freshen'd, and they run at a great Rate; but 'twas a fare Wind and a fine clear Night; so the Captain went to sleep again.

A B O U T an Hour after he had been asleep again, he dreamed that a Man pull'd him or wak'd him, and he did wake. I am not sure, but I think he said the Thing that wak'd him bad him get up, that is, turn out and look abroad. But whether it was so or no, he lay still and compos'd himself to sleep, and drop'd again, and suddenly awak'd again, and thus several times; and tho' he knew nothing what was the Reason, yet he found it was impossible for him to go to sleep, and still he heard the [sig.P3^b] Vision say, or thought he heard it say, *turn out and look abroad*.

H E lay in this Uneasiness near two Hours, but at last it encreas'd so upon him, that he could lie no longer, but gets up, puts on his Watch Gown¹⁰, and comes out upon the Quarter-deck¹¹; there he found his second Mate walking about, and the Boatswain¹² upon the Forecastle¹³, the Night fine and clear, a fair Wind, and all well as before.

T H E Mate wondering to see him, at first did not know him; but calling, Who's there? the Captain answer'd, and the Mate returns, Who, the Captain! what's the matter, Sir?

S A Y S the Captain, I don't know, but I have been very uneasie these two Hours, and some body or my own Fancy bid me turn out and look abroad, tho' I know not what can be the meaning of it.

T H E R E can be nothing in it, but some Dream, *says the Mate*.

S A Y S the Captain, How does the Ship Cape¹⁴?

S O U T H - W E S T by South, *says the Mate*; fair for the Coast, and the Wind East by North.

T H A T'S all very good, *says the Captain*; and so, after some other usual Questions, he turn'd about to go back to his Cabin; when, as if it had been some body that stood by him had spoke, it came into his Mind like a Voice, *Heave the Lead, heave the Lead*.

U P O N this he turns again to his second Mate, *Mate, says the Captain*, when did you heave the Lead? what Water had you?

A B O U T and Hour ago, *says the Mate*, sixty Fathom.

Heave again, *says the Captain*.

T H E R E'S no manner of Occasion, Sir, *says the Mate*, but if you please it shall be done.

I D O N'T know, *says the Captain*, 'tis needless indeed, I think; and so was going away again, [sig.P4^a] but was, as it were, forc'd to turn back as before, and says to the Mate, I know not what ails me, but I can't be easie; come call a Hand aft, and heave the Lead.

A C C O R D I N G L Y a Hand was called, and the Lead being cast or heaved, as they call it, they had Ground at eleven Fathom.

T H I S surpriz'd them all, but much more when at the next Cast it came up seven Fathom.

U P O N this the Captain in a Fright bad them put the Helm a Lee¹⁵, and about Ship¹⁶, all Hands being order'd to back the Sails¹⁷, as is usual in such Cases.

T H E proper Orders being obeyed, the Ship stay'd presently and came about; and when she was about, before the Sails fill'd, she had but four Fathoms and a half Water under her Stern; as soon as she filled and stood off, they had seven Fathom again, and at the next Cast eleven Fathom, and so on to twenty Fathom; so he stood off to Seaward¹⁸ all the rest of the Watch, to get into deep Water, 'till Daybreak; when being a clear Morning, there were the Capes of Virginia and all the Coast of *America* in fair View under their Stern, and but a very few Leagues Distance: Had they stood on but one Cable's length¹⁹ farther, as they were going, they had been *Bump*

a-shore²⁰ (so the Sailors call it) and had certainly lost their Ship, if not their Lives.

N O W, what could this be? Not the *Devil*, that we may vouch for him, he would hardly be guilty of doing so much good; hardly an Angel sent from Heaven Express, that we dare not presume; but that it was the Work of a waking Providence, by some invisible Agent employ'd for that Occasion, who took Sleep from the Captain's Eyes; as once in a Case of infinitely more Importance was done to King *Ahasuerus*; This we may conclude. Had the Captain slept as usual, and as Nature requir'd, [sig.P4^b] they had all been lost; the Shore being flat at a great Distance, and, as I suppose, the Tide low, the Ship had been a-ground in an Instant, and the Sea, which run high, would have broke over her, and soon have dash'd her in Pieces.

H O W it happen'd that the Mates and other Navigators on Board (for it being a very great Ship, they had several experienc'd Men among them) should all of them have kept, and yet all be out in their Reckoning, and that so much as to think themselves an hundred Leagues from the Coast, when they were not above twenty or twenty five, that was to be accounted for among themselves; but certain it was, if it had not been for thus being wak'd and jogg'd in the Night, and kept awake too in spite of his own Drowsiness, the Captain had lain still, and the whole Ship's Company been in the utmost Hazard.

I F this was not an Apparition, it must be what the Scripture calls it in another Case, being *warned of God in a Dream*; which by the way is the same thing; but here something more than being warned, for the Captain own'd he was in no Dream. He dream'd nothing at all, much less any thing of Danger; he went to his Bed or Cabin with the prudent Caution that any Man in that important Trust of a Ship in the Ocean could do; and then after having made their Calculations, cast up their Reckonings, set their Watch, and made every thing sure, he laid down with all the Satisfaction that it was possible for any Man in a like Case to have.

T O any Men that understood the Sea Affairs, this Case will be more feelingly and sensibly read; they will be more touch'd with the Surprize the Ship's Company must be all in, to see themselves just running a-ground, when they believed themselves an hundred Leagues from the Shore, to [sig.P5^a] find themselves within two Inches of Death, when they believ'd themselves as safe as a Ship at Sea with a moderate Gale and a fair Wind could be supposed to be.

A N D how will these modern Wits, of which our Age is so full, account for this, who allow no God or Providence, no invisible World, no Angelick, kind and waking Spirits, who, by a secret Correspondence with our embodied Spirits, give merciful Hints to us of

approaching Mischief and impending Dangers, and that timely, so as to put the Means into our Hands to avoid and escape them?

W H I C H way will such Men solve the main Difficulty in such a Case as this, viz. What this should be? Will they resolve it all into fortuitous Chance, meer Accident, a meer Circulation of things in the ordinary Course? As they say Shoals²¹ are raised to bar up a Haven²², which they tell us, is nothing but the Sand and Stones driven down the Stream of a River, which lodge here or there, as their own Weight, or the abating Force of the Water, or this or that Eddy²³ and Counter-stream checks them, so deep'ning one Channel where it was Shoal, and choaking up another where it was deep, and all by meer Accident: But this is very gross arguing.

I T were easie to confute these weak pretenses to Chance and Incident, and to show the necessity of an intelligent Being; but that is not my work: I am not upon the Reality of such an intelligent Being, but the Reality of its ordinary and extraordinary actings, the Agents it employs, and the manner of their executing the Commissions they receive; which 'tis evident they faithfully perform, and effectually too; sometimes by one method, sometimes by another, and particularly by this of Apparition, as well to the Eyes of the Soul, as to the

Eye of the Body, sleeping or waking 'tis the same.
[sig.P5^b]

O U R Friends the Criticks may stumble here, perhaps, at the seeming contradiction in the Terms, as particularly this of invisible Apparition. But 'tis easily solv'd, by answering that it is but a seeming Contradiction, for both the Apparitions are visible, only not to the same Optick Powers; the Apparition in Dream is visible to the intellectual sight, to the Eye of the Soul; and the Day-light Apparition is visible to the common ordinary sight: and you have an Expression in the Scripture often made use of, which give an unquestion'd Authority for this way of speaking.

T H E expressing things dream'd of, as things seen, is very frequent in the Sacred Text. *Jacob* dream'd a Dream about *Laban's* Cattle, *Gen.* xxxi. 10. where 'tis thus expressed, *and I saw in a Dream.* Again *Daniel*, vii. 1,2. *Daniel* had a Dream and Visions of his Head upon his Bed, v. 2. *and I saw in my Vision by Night:* v. 7. after this *I saw in the Night Visions, and behold a fourth Beast:* and v. 13. *I saw in the Night Visions, and behold;* and besides this, we have the same way of speaking ten or eleven times in the same Chapter, and as any or more in the next.

'T I S the like in relating the Dreams of *Pharaoh* and of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or the Apparitions rather which

appear'd to those Kings in Dream. *Pharaoh* say to *Joseph*, *Gen. xli. 17, 18, 19. In my Dream I stood upon the Bank of the River, and B E H O L D there came up; that is the same thing as, I saw them come up: v. 19. and B E H O L D seven other Kine²⁴ came up, or I saw seven other Kine come up. So that an Apparition in Dream is visible to the Soul, the Imagination sees, tho' the Eyes of the Body are clos'd.*

T H I S Digression is owing to the nice Judgement of our Criticks, whose exactness you see I mightily reverence, and am wonderful careful not to fall under their dreadful Hands, in a thing so essential to my Subject; as for Trifles, I leave them to trifle with them to the utmost of their more malicious Impotence.

B U T I come now to another Reason of Fact, which also I take upon me to vouch the Reality of, having been present at the very instant of every part of it.

A P E R S O N ²⁵, whose Name it is not so proper to mention here, but who may be produc'd if there should be occasion, being still living, was under the disaster, about the Year 1701, to fall under a Party Censure, (the occasion is needless to the present Case.) In hopes, upon the Recess of the House, which was not far off, he should (as is usual) be at Liberty, he withdrew himself, and avoided being taken up as much as he could; but the House

resenting it, a Vote was past, ordering the Secretary of State to prosecute him at Law; which oblig'd him to resolve to leave the Kingdom, and in the mean time to conceal himself with more exactness; the Government having issued out a Proclamation for apprehending him, with a Reward to the Person who should discover where he was, so as he might be taken.

I N order to conceal himself more effectually, he left his Lodging where he had been hid for some time, and remov'd to *Barnet*²⁶ on the Edge of *Hertfordshire*²⁷; intending as soon as he had settled some Family Affairs, to go away North into *Scotland*: But before he went away he was oblig'd to come once more to *London*, to sign some Writings for the securing some Estate, which it was fear'd might be seiz'd by some Out-law, if the Prosecution had gone on so far.

T H E Night before he had appointed to come to *London*, as about, being in Bed with one Mr. *R----- D-----*²⁸ he dream'd that he was in his Lodgings at *London*, where he had been conceal'd as above, and [sig.P6^b] in his Dream he saw two Men come to the Door, who said they were *Messengers*, and produc'd a Warrant from the Secretary of State to apprehend him, and that accordingly they seiz'd upon and took him.

T H E Vision surpriz'd and wak'd him, and he waked Mr. *D-----* his Brother-in-law, who was in Bed with him, and

told him the Dream, and what a Surprise he was in about it. Mr. D----- seeing it was but a Dream, advis'd him to give no heed to it, but compose himself and go to sleep again, and he did so.

A S soon as he was fast asleep again, he was wak'd with the same Dream exactly as before; and he awak'd his Brother again, as before: It distrub'd them both very much; but being heavy to sleep, they both went to sleep again, and dream'd no more. It is to be observ'd, that he saw the very Man that apprehended him, their Countenances, Cloaths, Weapons, &c. and describ'd them in the Morning to his said Brother D----- in all the Particulars.

H O W E V E R the Call to go to *London* being as he thought urgent, he got ready in the Morning to go, resolving to stay but one Day, and then set forward for *Scotland*. Accordingly he went for *London* in the Morning, and that he might not be known, walk'd it on Foot; that so he might go by more private ways over *Enfield Chase*²⁹, and so to *Southgate*³⁰, *Hornsey*³¹, &c.

A L L the way as he walk'd his Mind was heavy, and oppress'd; and he frequently said to his Brother who walk'd with him, that he was certain he was going to *London* to be surpriz'd: and so strong was the foreboding Impression upon his Mind, that he once stop'd at *Hornsey*, and endeavored to get a Lodging, intending to send his

Brother to *London* to see if nothing had happen'd there to give him any Alarm. [sig.P7^d]

A S he had just secured a convenient Lodging, he accidentally saw a Gentleman standing at the next Door, who he knew very well, but durst not venture to trust on that Occasion; and finding on Enquiry that he dwelt there, he concluded that was no Place for him, and so resolv'd to go forwards.

T H E Impression upon his Mind continuing, he stop'd again at *Islington*³², and endeavor'd to get a Lodging there; but could not: so at last, when his Brother brought him word he could not get a Lodging, except where it was too publick, Well, says he, than I must go to *London*, and take what follows; or to that purpose; and accordingly did go, and the next Morning was taken by the Messengers, just in the very manner he had been told in his Dream; and the very same two Men, whose Faces he had seen, and with the same Cloaths on and Weapons, exactly as he had describ'd.

T H I S Story I had from his own Mouth, and confirm'd by Mr. R----- D----- his Brother-in-law, to whom he related his Vision at the very Moment of it, as above.

I R E F E R it to any impartial judgement to weigh every Circumstance of this Account (the Truth of which I have not the least Reason to question) and to tell me, by what Powers, and from what Influence could these things

be perform'd, if there were no invisible World, and no Inhabitants there, who concern'd themselves with our Affairs? no good Spirits which convers'd with our embodied Spirits, and gave us due intelligence, notice, and warning of approaching Danger.

I F there is any Difficulty in this Case, it seems to me to be in the Event of the thing, as in the Case mention'd: Why was not the Intelligence made so compleat, so forcible, and the Impression [sig.P7^b] so plain, that the Person in whose Favour it was all done might have been effectually alarm'd, his going forward stopt, and consequently the Mischief which was at hand, and which he had the notice of, effectually prevented?

I T is not indeed so easy to answer that part; but it may be resolv'd into this, that the Fault seems to be our own, that we do not give attention to such notice, as might be sufficient to our Deliverance. If an Enemy be at hand, and the Out-Centinel³³ fires his Piece, he does his Duty; if the whole Camp does not take the Alarm, but are surpriz'd, the fault is their own, the Man did all that was to be expected from him; nor do the Officers or Generals slight the notice, and say 'tis nothing but a sorry Fellow shot off his Musquet, and so take no more heed to it.

O N the contrary, they conclude the Centinel is posted upon Duty; he would not fire his Piece without sufficient

Cause, and give a false alarm to the Camp for nothing; there must be something extraordinary, and accordingly they order the Drums to beat, and immediately Call to Arms.

T H U S if the invisible Spirits give a due alarm, they do their part; if they jog us and awaken us in a deep sleep, and pull us again and again, and give us notice that something is coming, that some Danger is at the Door; if we will sleep on 'till it comes, if we will go on, happen what happen may, the kind Spirit has done its Duty, discharg'd its Office, and if we fall into the Mischief, the fault is our own, we can by no means blame the insufficiency of the Notice, and say, to what purpose is it? seeing we had due and timely warning, but would not take the hint; we had due notice of danger, and would not step out of the way to avoid it; the fault is wholly our own. [sig.P8^d]

A N O T H E R Account I have sufficient Voucher for, tho' the Gentleman is now dead; but I had great reason to believe the truth of it.

A Y O U N G Gentleman of good Birth and Fortune³⁴, in the beginning of the late War with *France*, had a violent inclination to see the World, as he call'd it, and resolv'd to go into the Army; his Father was dead, and had left him a good Estate; that is to say, between four and five hundred Pounds a Year; besides his Mother's

Joynture, which after her Life would fall to him of course.

H I S Mother earnestly entreated him not to go into the Army; but prest him rather to travel, and so might see the World, as she said, without feeling the Calamities of the War, and without hazarding his Life.

H E told her Travelling indeed in time of Peace was all a Gentleman could do, and was at best very expensive; but that now was the time a Man might see the World at the expense of the Publick, and perhaps might make his Fortune too.

H I S Mother represented the danger of his Life, and bad him consider how many Gentlemen went into the Army, and of them, have few liv'd to come home again, much less to rise to any degree of Preferment.

H E made light of all that, and told his Mother (as is the general Saying of warm Heads when they push their Fortunes, as they call it,) that if he happen'd to be knock'd on the Head there was an End of him, and he was provided for.

W E L L, Son, says the old Lady, I am oblig'd to submit to it, you are your own Master; but remember your Mother's Tears, (and with those Words she wept;) I can but entreat you not to go, you have Estate enough to make you easy; let those go whose narrow Circumstances make the hazard rational, and let them go abroad to die, that

[sig.P8^b] can't tell how to live; you can pay those that do go; you have no heed to run the Risque, who do not want the Pay.

H E slighted all her entreaties, and told her, if his Father was alive he did not doubt but that he would give his Consent, for he had done the same thing in his young Days.

N O, no, Son, said his Mother, your Father knew better; he took a Commission when he was the youngest of three Sons, and had nothing to expect at home but the fate of a younger Brother; but as soon as he heard that his Elder Brothers were both dead, and the Estate all come to him, he laid down his Arms, sold his Commission, and said he had no more Business in the Army; and he would tell you the same thing if he was alive: he used always to say, that the Sword and the Book are the Portions of the younger Brothers, the Coach and Equipage is for the Heir.

W E L L, 'twas all one; whatever his Mother's Arguments could do, or even speaking Tears cou'd say, nothing could prevail; but he mortgag'd part of his Estate to purchase a Company in the first Regiment of Guards, and into the Army he would go.

T H E Night before he sign'd the Agreement for the Company, being in his Bed and fast asleep, he saw in a Dream his Father come to him in his Gown, and with a great Fur Cap on, such as he us'd to wear: And calling

him by his Name, What is the Reason, says he, that you will not listen to the entreaties of you Mother not to go to the Wars; but answer her that I would not dissuade you? I do assure you, that if you resolve to take this Commission you will not enjoy it three Years.

W H Y, says *he* (in his Dream) what will hinder me? being it seems desirous to know something of his Fortune.
[sig.Q1^a]

A S K me not the Particulars, says *the Apparition*, but either decline the Employ, or when you have enjoy'd it two Years and a half, sell out again, as I did before you.

I C A N'T promise that, says *he*.

T H E N you may promise your self, says *the Apparition*, that it shall be worse.

H E seem'd to slight the Admonition, and said, it was too late to look back.

T O O late! too late! says *the Apparition*, repeating the Words; then go on, and repent too late.

H E was not much affected with this Apparition, when he wak'd and found it was a Dream; for Dreams, said he, are not to be headed; so he went on and bought the Commission.

A F E W Days after the Commission was bought, the Father appear'd again, not to him but to his Mother, in

a Dream too as before; and taking notice to her, how his Son had rejected her Admonition, it added,

" Y O U N G Heads are wilful: *Robert* will go into the Army; but tell him from me, he shall never come back.

A L L these Notices were of no force with this young Gentleman; but as he had resolv'd, so he pursued his Resolution, and went into the Army; and two Battallions of that Regiment going into the Field that Summer, his Company was one, and so he went abroad into *Flanders*³⁵.

H E wanted no occasion to show his Bravery, and in several warm Actions come off with applause; so that he was far from being suspected of Cowardice: But one Day, and in the third Year of his Service, the Army was drawn out in order of Battel, the General having receiv'd certain Advice, that the Enemy would come and attack them. As he stood at the Head of his Company, he was suddenly seiz'd with a cold shivering Fit, and it was so violent [sig.Q1^b] that some Officers who were near him, every one at their Post, perceiv'd it.

A S it was to no purpose for him to conceal it, he turn'd to his Lieutenant who was next to him, and from whose Mouth I receiv'd the particular Account of it: I cannot imagine, says *he*, what is the occasion of this shaking Fit.

I T is your eagerness to fall on, says the Lieutenant, I have often been so, and begin to be so now; I wish

the *French* would come on, that we might have something to do.

I T continu'd about a quarter of an Hour, and the Enemy did come on as was expected; but the fight began upon the left, a good distance from them, so that the whole left Wing was engag'd before they began.

W H I L E this lasted, the Lieutenant call'd to the Gentleman, Colonel, *says he*, how do you do? I hope your shivering Fit is over.

N O, *says the Colonel*, 'tis not over; but 'tis a little better.

I T will be all over presently, *says the Lieutenant*.

A Y, so 'twill, *says the Colonel*, I am very easy, I know what 'twas now; and with that he call'd for the Lieutenant to come to him for one Moment.

W H E N he came, *says he*, I know now what ail'd me, I *am very easy*, I have seen my Father; I shall be kill'd the first Volley; let my Mother know I told you this.

I N a few Minutes after this, a Body of the Enemy advanc'd, and the very first Volley the Regiment receiv'd was the fire of five Plottoons of Grenadiers, by which the Captain and several other Officers, besides private Men were kill'd, and the whole Brigade was soon after put into Confusion; tho' being supported by some Regiments of the second Line, they rallied again soon after; the Captain's body was presently recover'd; but he was

[sig.Q2^a] irrevocably Dead, for he receiv'd a Shot in his Face which kill'd him immediately.

I F all the Notices from the invisible World could have been of any Use to him, or he had been to be wrought upon by Cautions and Advices, which nothing but a most obstinate Temper would have so totally disregarded, the Man had been safe; But what can be expected when Men are as plainly inform'd of things, as by such Methods can be suppos'd rational, and will not take the Hint?

L U C I U S F L O R U S³⁶ records of *Julius Cæsar*³⁷, that a Woman of a Masculine Countenance, and of a mighty Stature, appeared to him in a Dream, and beckon'd him to follow her; that upon his following her, she went over the River *Rubicon*³⁸, and stood on the farther Bank, beckoning to him to come over; upon which the next Day he boldly enter'd *Italy*, passing the *Rubicon*, which was the Boundary of *Italy* on that Side.

I K N O W some relate this as an Apparition to *Cæsar* in the open Day, but I understand it otherwise, and that it was understood of the Genius of *Italy*, as they call'd it, and that he had such a Vision in his Sleep, which encourag'd him in his attempt upon the Liberty of his Country; intimating, that the whole Country invited him, and that he might be sure of Success.

I S H A L L not run out here into the Account of Dreams; the Variety of them is Infinite, and, as I hinted

before, few of them of Importance enough to deserve any Regard; but such Dreams as necessarily intimate an Apparition of Spirits, those I think must be Significant.

T H E following³⁹ is part Vision, part Apparition, and seems to make One be an Evidence of the Other, and therefore is very particular to my Purpose. T-----

H-----⁴⁰ a Gentleman of Fortune, eldest Son of the Family, his Father a Baronet, and of an [sig.Q2^b] honourable Line, and then living, being a young Man, and a Man of Pleasure, had an Intreague with a certain Lady, in which his younger Brother (of the two rather more Gay, and given that way than himself) was his Rival: The Lady was handsome, and of no despicable Fortune, but much inferior to the eldest Son of the Family, whose Fortune was near two thousand Pound *per Annum*, after his Father Sir G----- H-----⁴¹.

T H E younger Gentleman was really in Love with the Lady, and inclin'd to marry her, if he could bring his Father to consent to it, and had two or three times spoken to the old Knight about it; nor was his Father much averse to it, only he thought her Fortune too small.

S I R G----- told his Son, if he had been his Eldest, he should have been easier in the Proposal, because his Paternal Estate being Free, and perfectly unincumber'd, he thought the Heir was not under the Necessity of making

his Fortune by a Wife; but that a younger Brother ought always to seek a Fortune to mend his Circumstances. He us'd to jest with his Son, and tell him, it was this made him connive at his way of Life; that a younger Brother should be Handsome, be a Scholar, Dress, and be Gay; the first to recommend him to the court, the second to recommend him to the Ladies; that the Heir having no need, was often left to be a Booby Knight, just able to write his own Name, Halloo to his own Dogs, and ride the light Saddle; but as he had seldom any Share of Brains, Nature wisely gave the Wit to one, and the Estate to the other; so, says the Knight, your Brother has his Affairs in quite a different Situation.

T H E S E good-natur'd kind of Arguments the old Knight us'd with his younger Son, to persuade him against marrying the Lady; but did not absolutely forbid him on pain of his Displeasure, and [sig.Q3^d] of with drawing his Hand from him, with respect to Money, so that the young Gentleman kept the Lady Company openly; and though he had not yet made the Proposal to her, yet did really design it; I mean the honrouable Proposal, (viz.) of Marriage.

O N the other hand, the Esquire, as they call'd him, kept her Company, on another and far worse Account, designing to make a Mistress of her, and not a Wife.

U P O N these differing Views, the Brother's often met at the Lady's House, that is to say, at her Aunt's where she liv'd; for she had no Father, and her Mother had chang'd Circumstances, so that her Daughter was as it were in her own Hands.

T H E elder Brother had this in his Advantage in his Interest, (*viz.*) that the Lady lov'd him, and would have been very well pleas'd if he had courted her for Marriage, but that was not his Design; so that in a word, the Case stood thus, the younger Brother lov'd the Lady, but the Lady lov'd the Esq;.

T H E elder Brother laid Siege to her Virtue, and the younger laid Siege to her Affections; but, as I said, the Stream running in Favour of the eldest, the Lady was in some Danger of sacrificizing her Honour to her Passion, and the honest Pretensions of the young Gentleman were in some Hazard of a Miscarriage.

T H E Gentlemen carry'd on their Affairs separately, and their own way; but were neither of them so close as to conceal it from one another that they had some Designs, tho' they did not fully discover what their Pretensions were; however as I have said that they often met at the Lady's Apartment, it could not be long before they came to a Conversation upon the Subject, and this unhappily embroil'd them together at last, as you shall see presently. [sig.Q3^b]

T H E eldest Brother began one Evening to be a little rough with his Brother upon the Subject; *Jack*, says the *Eldest*, you and I often meet here, I don't understand it, pray what do you pretend to do? 'tis a little odd that two Brothers should have but one Mistress; pr'ythee, *Jack*, don't let us turn *Italians*.

N A Y, says *Jack*, what do you pretend to? If either of us is in the Wrong, I believe 'tis always on your Side.

N O, says T----- I don't allow that neither, I am right I am sure of it; I am always right, and I will be right, pray take Notice of that.

I T A K E Notice of nothing about it, not I, says *Jack*; all the World knows I am right, and they shall know it, and you shall know it too, *Tom*-----

W E L L, Pr'ythee *Jack*, says *Tom*. alter one Piece of your Conduct, I desire that of you.

W H A T Conduct? I don't understand you; but if I did, I know no Conduct of mine that is amiss, and I shall alter none of it, I assure you.

W H Y, this is it, that when I meet you here, which I think is a little too often, says the *Esquire*, I observe you always strive to stay after me, and to have me go away first; I tell you, I don't like it.

I S H A L L alter nothing about that, I assure you, says *Jack*. I think I have some Business here more than you have; and as for your meeting me here too often, I

think so too, I think you do come here a little too often, unless you came with an honest Design.

Y O U are very Pert, Mr. Jack, to your elder Brother; I think I must handle you a little, says Tom.

W H Y, good Mr. elder Brother Esquire Thomas, says Jack, when you are a Baronet, you may take upon you a little; but 'till then, the Cap and the Knee⁴² is not so much your due, as you may think it is.

L O O K you Jack, says the Esquire, I am not jesting with you, nor I won't be jested with by you; the best [sig.Q4^a] Answer a Gentleman gives to a Jest, is a Box on the Ear; or *la coup de Batton*⁴³.

W H Y, Sir, says Jack, I must call my self a Gentleman as well as you, or else I could not have the Honour to call you Brother: And since you are dispos'd to be in Earnest, I take leave to tell you Sir, I will be us'd like a Gentleman, and if you don't know how to do it, I am able to teach you.

T H E Y were now both very hot; for upon the last Words of his Brother, the Esquire laid hold of his Cane, at which the younger laid hold of his Sword. Look you Sir, says he, if you are dispos'd to treat your Brother thus, take Notice Sir, my Father's Son may be kill'd, but he can't be can'd, and I won't take the least Offer towards it at your Hand; I am ready for you when you please.

S O M E Company that were not far off, and Friends to both, ran in upon this, and kept them asunder for that time; but they soon met again at the same Place; and tho' it was two or three Days or more, yet they soon began the same kind of Discourse; and which was still worse, the elder Brother, who was certainly in the Wrong, yet always began the Discourse.

I T happen'd they met the last time at the Lady's Lodgings, and were let into her Parlour, but the Lady was very unhappily abroad; she had charg'd her Maid, if ever the Gentlemen came when she was abroad, she should never let them both in, or at least not both in the same Room; for she had perceiv'd they began to be very uneasie one with another; she knew they were both hot and angry, and she was afraid of some Mischief between them, notwithstanding they were Brothers.

B U T some of her Aunt's Servants happening to come to the Door, when the eldest Gentleman knock'd, they carried him into the same [sig.Q4^b] Parlour where the younger Brother was waiting before the Lady's Return.

T H I S was as unluckily pointed for what follow'd, as if the *Devil*, who is always ready for Mischief, had contriv'd it on Purpose; for the Brothers were no sooner met, but they fell to quarrelling.

W E L L, *Jack*, says the elder Brother, you will it seems keep your Haunt here, notwithstanding what I said to you.

I D O not really understand what you mean by your way of talking, says *Jack*; you seem to take a Liberty with me, you have no right to.

W H A T Liberty do I take? says the *Esquire*. I ask'd you what Business you had here with Mrs. --- was that taking too much Liberty? and I ask you again, is that an Offence?

A N D I told you, says *Jack*, I should give you no Account of my self, did I not? was that an Offence to you? If it was, I see no help for it, I shall give you the same Answer now: I cannot imagine what you mean by asking me such a Question.

I K N O W what I mean by it, and I shall expect a better Answer, I tell it you in a few Words, says the *Esquire*.

N A Y, if you have a mind to make a Quarrel of it you are welcome, says *Jack*, I'll make as few Words as you please; Only let me know your Pleasure, tell me what you would have, and you shall have a direct Answer, or a direct Refusal at once.

W H Y, my Question is short, says the *Esquire*, What do you visit Mrs.----- for? you may easily understand me.

I S H A L L answer it with the same Question, says *Jack*; Pray what do you visit her for?

W H Y, that's as rude as you can answer an elder Brother, says *the Esquire*, and as spiteful; but few [sigQ5^d] Words are best *Jack*, I visit her for that which bears no Rivals; I hope you understand me now.

W E L L, and I do the same, says *Jack*; but there is one Question between us then, that carries the matter of Right with it, and that is, who visited her first?

W H Y that's true, *Jack*, says *the Esquire*, in some Cases, but not in Love; Priority is no Claim there, I shall not trouble my self about it.

T H E N I'm sure, says *Jack*, being an elder Brother is no Claim; so I shall take no Notice of that.

N O, no says *the Esquire*, I don't expect it; there are no Relatives in whoring, *Jack*. I know no Brother, or Father, Uncle or Cousin, when I talk of my Mistress.

V E R Y well, says *Jack*, now you have answer'd me more particularly than it may be you intended; and perhaps we may come to an Understanding sooner than I expected.

W H A T do you mean, says *the Esquire*, by an Understanding?

N A Y, what can I mean? I mean, that you give me to understand, that you court Mrs.----- to make a Whore of her.

B E T T E R Language, *Jack*, however, says the *Esquire*:
a Mistress, you would say?

N O T I, says *Jack*, 'twill bear no better Language; a
Whore's a Whore, you know, call it what you will, 'tis
the same thing to me.

W E L L, and suppose it then, what Business have you
with it?

W H Y, suppose then that I Court the same Lady for a
Wife, I hope I have better of you there?

N O T at all *Jack*, says the *Esquire*, I shan't allow you
should make a Wife of my Mistress.

N O R I can't allow, says *Jack*, that you shall make a
Whore of my Wife. [sig.Q5^b]

B U T I shall make no Scruple of it I assure you, says
the *Esquire*, if she is willing, for all you are my
Brother, I shall do it if I can.

A N D I won't flatter you, that let her be willing or
not willing, if you really do it, says *Jack*, I shall make
no Scruple to cut your Throat for it if I can, for all
you are my Brother.

V E R Y well, *Jack*, says the *Esquire*, then I know what
I have to trust to.

I T'S very true, says *Jack*, 'tis the old Road of Knight
Errantry⁴⁴ Sir, win her and wear her, is the Word.

A N D what must be done then? says the *Esquire*.

N A Y, says Jack, I need not tell you what to do; I tell you she's my Wife, I think that's enough to tell you what you ought to do.

A N D I tell you, says the Esquire, she's my Mistress, that's enough to tell you, you are a Cuckold, or shall be so, I think that's fair, to tell you before-hand.

A N D I think, says Jack, that's telling me I must cut your Throat before-hand too; for I will neither be a Cuckold, or be call'd so by you, or any Man alive.

N. B. A T this the younger Brother rose up in a violent Rage, and went away; and the elder Brother, as hot as he, told him as he went out, *he did well* to leave him *in Possession*.

T H I S urg'd him yet more, and he turn'd back, and said, I hope you will have the Manners to follow me?

N O, Jack, says the Esquire, and swore to him, you shan't fight for my Mistress, and my Estate too; I'll take care first you shall get nothing by me.

W I T H all my Heart, says Jack, we give a Rogue time at the Gallows to say his Prayers, you know.

I S H A L L correct you for your Impudence, Sir, to-morrow Morning, without fail, says the Esquire.
[sig.Q6^a]

M U S T I wait upon your Worship so long? says Jack, and added something very bitter, as if his Brother was too much a Coward to go on with it. But it appeared

otherwise, for that very Evening he receiv'd a Challenge from the Esquire, appointing Time and Place to meet the next Day by Five in the Morning.

T H E S E two rash hot-headed young Fellows were carried into this Fit of Rage by the Violence rather of their fiery Spirits and Passions, than of their real Jealousy, for they had scarce either of them begun to engage with the Lady one way or another; but being hot and heady, they raised the Storm between themselves, and the Match and the Tinder meeting, the Flame broke out by the meer Nature of the thing.

B U T my Business is not to moralize upon the Story, but to relate the Fact. The Challenge being given, they no had no more to do but to meet, fight, play the Butcher upon one another, and leave the Consequences to Time.

T H E Father, the good old Knight, who was then living, could know nothing of what had pass'd between his Sons, for he was at that very time down at his Country Seat in *W-----shire*⁴⁵, at least sixty Miles from *London*.

O N the Morrow early, according to Agreement, the Brothers prepar'd themselves for the Business, and out they went, but by several Ways, to the Place appointed, their Lodgings being in different Parts of the Town.

T H E younger Brother, whose Blood it seems was warmest, was first out, and it was scarce Daylight when he came within Sight of the Place appointed; there he saw

his Brother, as he supposed him to be, walking hastily to and fro, as if he waited with Impatience for his coming.
[sig.Q6^b] [insert plate]

N A Y, *says he to himself*, I am sure I am within the Time; however, don't be Impatient Brother *Tom*, I'll be with you presently; and with that he mended his Pace. He had not gone many Steps more, but he saw his Brother (as he still thought him to be) coming forward, as if it was to meet him, and with his Sword drawn in his Hand.

Y O U are mighty nimble with your Sword (said he again to himself) what, did you think I would not give you time to draw? But how was he surpriz'd when he came up to him, and found it was not his Brother but his Father, and that instead of a Sword in his Hand he had nothing but a small little Cane, such as the old Knight generally walk'd with!

H E was more at a stand, because he suppos'd his Father was, as is said above, at his Seat in the Country, above sixty Miles off: However he was out of doubt when he not only saw him nearer hand, but that his Father spoke to him?

W H Y how now *Jack*, *says the old Gentleman*, What, * challenge and draw upon your Father.

* *When he thought he saw his Brother with his Sword in his Hand, he had laid his Hand on his Sword.*

Y O U may be sure, Sir, says he, I did not suppose it was you. I don't doubt you know whom I expected here; 'tis a poor cowardly Shift for him first to challenge his Brother, and then send you in his stead; you would not have done so yourself, when you was a young Man.

'T I S no time to talk now, *Jack*, says his Father, I have your Challenge here, and I am now come to fight you, not to talk to you; therefore draw, says he, you know there's no Relation in Love; and with that his Father draws his Sword, and advances upon him. [sig.Q7^d]

D R A W ! says *Jack*: what, and upon my Father! Heaven's forbid! no, I'll be murther'd first.

B U T his Father advancing again, and with a furious Countenance, as if he would indeed kill him, *Jack* pulls out his Sword and Scabbard, and throwing it on the Ground, cry'd out, There Sir, take it, kill me with it; for God's sake, what do you mean?

B U T his Father as it were running upon him, *Jack* turns from him, and giving him a spring out of his Power, seems resolv'd to run from him; at which his Father stoops, takes up his Sword, and stood still.

T H E young Gentleman, surpris'd and amaz'd at the Recounter, was all in Terror and Confusion, and knew not what to do; but going back a considerable Way, and observing that his Father was gone, as he thought, he resolved, tho' he had no Sword, he would go to the Place

appointed, and see if his Brother was come; for he should not be able to say he did not meet him, however he was thus strangely disarm'd.

A C C O R D I N G L Y he went back to the Place, and sat him down upon the Ground, waiting near two Hours there, but heard nothing of his Brother; but as he came away again at the End of two Hours, he found his Sword lying just in the Place where it was thrown down, or as near the Place as he could imagine, tho' he was sure it was not there when he went the second time by the Place.

T H I S amus'd him more, and he knew not what to make of it; but he took up the Sword and went home, wondring at what the meaning of all this should be.

H E had not been long at home, but his Brother's Servant comes to his Lodging with a very civil Message from the Esquire, to know how he [sig.Q7^b] did; and the Servant was bid to ask him from his Brother, if he had not met with something extraordinary that Morning, and to tell him that he, (his Brother) was very ill, or he would ha' come to see him.

T H E Oddness of the Message added to the Surprise he was in before; upon which, he call'd the Messenger up Stairs, and parlied with him a little thus:

J. W H A T'S the matter, *Will*? how does my Brother do?

Will. M Y Master gives his Service to your Worship, and sent me to know how you do.

J. I N D E E D I'm out of order a little; but how is your Master? what's the matter?

Will. W H Y truly, and't please your Worship, I don't know what's the matter; I think my Master has been frightened this Morning.

J. F R I G H T E D, *Will!* with what, pry'thee? your Master is not easily frightened.

Will. W H Y no, an't please you, I know he is not; but this has been something extraordinary; I don't know how 'tis, for I was not with my Master, but they talk in the House, that he has seen his Father, or seen an Apparition in the Shape of his Father.

J. W H Y so have I too, *Will!* now you fright me indeed, for I made light of it before; why, it was my Father to be sure.

Will. N O Sir, alas your Father! why, my old Master was at ----- in W----shire, and very ill in his Bed but a Friday last; I came from him, my Master sent me to him on an Errand.

J. A N D did you see him your self, *Will?*

Will. I F you Worship please to give me my Oath, I'll take my Oath I saw him and spoke with him in his Bed, and very ill he was; I hope your Worship will believe I know my old Master? [sig.Q8^d]

J. Y E S, yes, you know him, no doubt, *Will.* I think you liv'd four Years with him, didn't you?

Will. I dress'd him, and undress'd him five Years and a half, *an't please you.* I think I may say I know him in his Cloaths, or out of 'em.

J. W E L L, William, and I hope that you will allow that I know my own Father too, or him I ha' call'd Father these thirty Years?

Will. Y E S to be sure, *an't please you.*

J. W E L L then, tell my Brother, it was either my Father or the Devil; I both saw him, and spoke with him, and I'm frighted out of my Wits.

A W A Y went *Will* with this Message back to his Master, and his Master immediately goes again with *Will* to see his Brother.

A S soon as he came into the Room to his Brother, he runs to him and kisses him; Dear *Jack*, says *he*, What has been the matter with us to-day? we have both play'd the Fool, but forgive me my Part, and tell me what has happen'd.

J A C K receiv'd him with all the Passions and Tenderness imaginable, and they fell immediately to comparing things with one another. *Will* had told his Brother in general how it was, as the younger Brother had order'd him; that he had seen his Father and spoke to him; and now he told him all the Particulars himself, as I have related them above, and how he came at him with

such Fury, that he really thought he would have run him thro' the Body, and that he run away.

T H E Squire related his Story much to the same purpose, How that he was coming to the Place appointed, his Father met him, and ask'd him whither he was going; that he put him off with a slight Answer, and told him, he was going to *Kensington*⁴⁶ to meet some Gentlemen there, who were to go with him to *Hampton-Court*⁴⁷.
[sig.Q8^b]

T H A T upon this, his Father turn'd very angry; and I observ'd, *said he*, his Face look'd as red as Fire; he stamp'd with his Foot, as he us'd to do when he was provok'd, and told me I put him off with a Sham; that he knew my Errand as well as I did my self; that I was going to murther my younger Brother, and that he was come to satisfie my Fury with his Blood, and I should murther him, not my Brother.

I was so confounded, *said the Esquire*, I could not speak to him a good while; but recovering myself a little, and going to excuse my self, he grew more angry; when I said my Pretension were as honest to Mrs.----- as yours were, he gave me the Lye, and indeed, *Jack*, I deserv'd it; tho' I could not imagine he knew: but he told me in short, that I lyed, for that I courted her to debauch her, but that you courted her honourably, to marry her, and he had given his Consent to it.

I W A S confounded, then begg'd his Pardon; so he bad me go Home and be reconciled to my Brother, or that he would talk other Language to me the next time he saw me; and now, dear *Jack*, says the *Esquire*, I am come to ask your Pardon, not only in Obedience to my Father, but really on my own Account, for I am convinc'd I was in the wrong to you very much.

Y O U may be sure the Brothers were immediately as good Friends as ever they were in their Lives. But still *Jack* uneasy about this being the real Appearance of his Father; and his Brother's Man *William's* Words run in his Mind all that Night; for as to this first Meeting, it was so taken up with the Ecstasies of their Reconciliation, that they had no time for any thing else.

B U T the next Morning the young Gentleman went to see his Brother, to return his Visit, and talk things over again. [sig.R1³]

D E A R Brother, says *Jack*, I am very uneasy about one Part of our Story still; I am glad from my Soul that you and I are brought to understand one another, and I hope it shall never be otherwise; but I cannot be totally satisfy'd about who it was that was the Peace-maker; if what your Man *Will* says to be true, it cou'd never be my Father.

N A Y, says his Brother, *Will* told me that you said it was my Father or the Devil.

W H Y yes I did say so, says Jack, but that was to intimate my Certainty of its not being my Father; not that I suppos'd it was the *Devil*. But, pray, how long has my Father been in Town?

N A Y, says the Esquire, I did not know that he is in Town, but that I saw him I know well enough.

B U T did you not send *Will* down to him, says Jack, into the Country? and is it possible he could come up since that, in so little time?

Y E S, yes, he might come up, says the Esquire; he often drives it in a Day and a piece, sometimes in a Day; six Horses go at a great rate, you know.

B U T pray what think you of it yourself? you saw him as well as I. Was it really my Father? Your Man *Will* talks that 'twas impossible; besides he says my Father was very ill, and kept his Bed.

W I L L does say he was much out of Order, but he did not say he kept his Bed; but I confess I never entered into that Dispute in my Thoughts: 'Twas my Father sure! What else could it be? As you said, Brother, it must be my Father or the *Devil*.

N A Y, I don't know what to say neither, Brother, says Jack, as to its being the *Devil*. I believe the *Devil* and my Father have no manner of Correspondence. [sig.R1^b]

B E S I D E S, Brother, says the Esquire, how should the *Devil* owe you and I such Good-will, as to concern

himself to reconcile us? I believe he had much rather have seen us murther one another, as we were in a fair way to have done.

I R A T H E R believe, says *Jack*, he had a Hand in making us Quarrel.

A Y indeed, so do I, says *the Esquire*; I think, for my Part, I was mad; and, as folks commonly say, the *Devil* was in me, or I should never have been such a Fool.

W E L L, but Brother, says *the young Gentleman*, how shall we come at the bottom of this Matter? we both think it was my Father, and we both think it can hardly be neither, and we both think it was not the *Devil*.

A Y, and, says *the Esquire*, if it should not be my Father nor the *Devil* neither, what shall we say then?

W H Y that, indeed, makes me so impatient to have it out: now I'll tell you one thing which allarms me a little too; I have sent to Mr. -----'s where you know my Father always lodges, and to the *Black-Swan-Yard*⁴⁸, where you know his Coach stands, and they all say he is not in Town, and that he is to be in Town about six Weeks hence.

W H Y that's extraordinary too, I confess, says *the Esquire*; I never thought of it, because I never entertain'd any Jealousy of this kind, it was quite out of my Head; but, upon my Word, you make me very uneasy about it now.

F O R my part, *says his younger Brother*, I would give any thing to come to a Certainty about it, I cou'd almost take my Horse, and go down on purpose.

I'L L go with you, with all my Heart, *says the Esquire*.
[sig.R2^d]

T O bring the Matter to a conclusion, the two Brothers agreed, and they both went away to see their Father. The very Day they took Horse to go down, but some Hours after they were gone, a Letter came in to the elder Brother's House from their Father; the Contents of which I shall take Notice of presently.

A N D first I am to observe that when they came to their Father they found him at home, and very ill, nor had he been from home; and was greatly concern'd for the Safety of his Sons, upon the following Occasion.

T H E Night before he wrote the Letter, spoken of above, he was surpriz'd in his Sleep with a Dream, or rather a Vision, that his two Sons had fallen out about a Mistress; that they had Quarell'd to that degree, that they had challeng'd one another, and were gone out into the Fields to fight; but that some body had given him Notice of it, and that he had got up in the Morning by four a Clock to meet and prevent them.

U P O N this Dream he wak'd in great Disorder and Terror; however finding it but a Dream he compos'd his Mind, and gotten to sleep again: but that he dream'd it

again in so lively a manner, that he was forc'd to call up his Man that waited on him to sit up the rest of the Night with him; and he was frighted, and much out of order with the Fright.

That, in Consequence of this Dream, he had sent a Servant up Express, with Orders to ride Night and Day, to enquire how his Sons did, and to bring him word if there had been any such breach among them; and earnestly to press them, if such a breach had been, that they would consent to let him mediate between them, that it might go no farther 'till he could come up, that so he might put an end to their Resentments, and make Peace [sig.R2^b] among them, according to his Dreams: and this was the Letter, mention'd above, that came to Hand in a few Hours after they were set out.

I T cannot be doubted but it was very confounding to his Sons to hear the Account their Father gave them of his Dream, or Vision rather, about their Quarrel; and it was equally amazing to see it confirm'd by all the true Particulars; also that the old Gentleman, to be sure, had been so far from being at *London*, that he had scare been a whole Day off from his Bed.

T H E Y conferr'd together seriously upon the private Question, (*viz.*) whether they should tell their Father the Story of their Quarrel, but especially of their

seeing him severally, and his really parting them, or preventing their fighting.

U P O N the whole, they concluded not to let their Father know of his Likeness (as they call'd it) appearing to them, lest it might disquiet him too much; and for the rest, as they were perfectly reconcil'd again, they said there was no manner of Occasion to mention it at all; so they only paid their Compliment as a Visit of Duty, to see how he did, and to ask his Blessing; *Will* having told them that he was out of Order: and as for his Letter, they could happily tell him they had not seen it.

A C C O R D I N G to this Resolution they perform'd the Ceremony of Visiting their Father, and made haste away again, that they might converse freely about this strange Conjunction of Circumstances, which had in it so many things surprizing to their Thoughts, and even to their Understandings; for they knew not what to make of it, nor, indeed, could they resolve it into any thing but this, which is to my purpose exactly, and which is the reason of my mentioning the whole [sig.R3^a] Story, namely, that here was a double Apparition within the compass of our propos'd System.

1. H E R E was the Apparition of the living Person of their Father, without his participation in the Action; his Face, Voice, and, perhaps, Habit was assum'd, and yet

he himself knew nothing of the Matter, was not in the least concerned in it, or acquainted with it.

2. H E R E was an Apparition to the Father in Dream; 'twas a plain Vision, the thing that was true in Fact was reveal'd to him in his Sleep, which is the very Subject I am now speaking of. The Sons were represented, or appear'd to him, Quarrelling, and in a state of Feud, as they really were, and yet neither of them knew any thing of the Matter.

F R O M hence (supposing the Reality of the Story) it necessarily follows that a Spirit or invisible Being, let it be call'd what we please, may take upon it the Shape, Face, Voice, of any living Person, whom it pleases to represent, without the Knowledge, Consent, or Concurrence of the Person so represented, in any manner whatsoever.

A N D from hence also it is evident that Dreams are sometimes to be call'd, and really are, Apparitions, as much as those other visible Apparitions which are seen when we are (as we call it) broad awake; that Apparition is to the Eyes of the Soul, and as it is so, it may be seen as well sleeping as waking, for the Imagination sleeps not: the Souls ceases indeed to act organically, but it cease not to act as a Soul, and in a spirituous Manner, and consequently can act upon spirituous Objects; and that as well in Sleep as at any other time.

I C O U L D load this Account with Story, for Example is frequent in these Cases, and I am forc'd to leave out some which are very good, and would be entertaining, because they are too [sig.R3^b] tedious for the Work; besides, I am not pretending to write a Collection of old Stories, if I did I should call it a History of all Chimney-Corners in the three Kingdoms. However, I must not leave you barren of examples neither in Cases so pregnant; take one more which my Author assures me was never in print.

A C E R T A I N Lady of good Figure and some Quality⁴⁹, had a terrible Quarrel with her Husband on the critical Points of Virtue and Honour; he was a Gentleman of publick Business, and pass'd for a Man of Sense; but had that particular Infirmary, which with me will always pass for a deficiency in the Understanding; I mean to be jealous of his Wife, and yet to be able to fix nothing upon her, no not so much as a just blot upon her Conversation.

'T I S very hard for a Man to be Fool enough to disquiet himself on such an Account, and not be Knave enough to make it uneasy to his Wife too; I say Knave, because where there is no just cause of Reproach, he cannot be an honest Man that loads his Wife with the Scandal of it.

H E had thought fit to use her very ill upon this Subject many times, with no manner of Foundation, nay, indeed, not so much as a pretence for it, except what was to be fetch'd from his own bewilder'd Imagination; and he gave himself up so much to his Jealousy, without grounds, that his Wife was oblig'd to lay her Condition before some of her Relations, who took upon them to talk with him about it.

T H I S talking with him had a worse Effect than was expected, for the Man was so far from being influenced by the friendly Expostulations of his Wife's Kindred, that he grew rude and abusive to them; and if any of them spoke a little warmer than ordinary in her favour, he turn'd it pre- [sig.R4^d] sently upon that Person, as if he had been the Man, and had been naught with her; and yet when one of them challeng'd him to give them any one Instance of his Wife's Conduct, or of any Person's associating with her in a manner as shou'd give an honest Man the least grounds of suspicion, he could not assign the least Reason; but as is most true in ordinary, that those who are the most Jealous have oftentimes the least Cause for it, so it was here; yet notwithstanding all the Expostulations that were, or could be used with him, the coolest Reasoning and most friendly Persuasions, he continued to use his Wife so ill, that her Friends began to think it necessary to part them.

T H E Lady, a Woman of Piety as well as Virtue, tho' griev'd heartily with the ill Usage, and particularly as it reproach'd her Virtue, yet was loath to unhinge her Family and separate from her Husband, having also two Children which she could not part with, her Affection not suffering her to leave them to want the Care and Conduct of a Mother; so she chose rather to bear his daily ill Usage of her, than to leave her Family.

B U T he carried the Brutish Part so far at length, that not content to use her in the most scandalous manner with his Tongue, he fell upon her with his Hands, and two or three times, in his Rage, abus'd her very much: she conceal'd this part (for his sake) as much as she could, and endeavor'd to prevent its being known.

B U T he took care to expose himself in it upon may Occasion, and particularly by affronting a Gentleman of his own Acquaintance, and some Relation to him too: the Case was thus; He fell to charging his Wife with dishonesty in ordinary Discourse, and before Strangers; upon which the Gentleman said, Fye, Cousin, really I believe you wrong her, at least you should be very sure [sig.R4^b] you were in the right before you talk'd so; your Lady has a general Character of an honest, modest and virtuous Woman; and I am told she is a very pious and religious Person also.

A T this he flew out in a Passion, and said, D--- her, he was satisfied she was a Whore.

B U T, Cousin, says the Gentleman, then I suppose you know the Person too, and could prove the Fact!

H E believ'd he did, *he said.*

N A Y, you ought to be very sure of it, Cousin, says he, before you charge your Wife so positively.

H E awnser'd, without any manner of Respect to his Cousin, I believe you are the Man; and adds, I take it for granted.

W H A T Suspicion, says the Gentleman, did I ever give you of it? I was never in your Wife's Company in my Life, but when you were present.

'T I S no matter for that, says *he*, if you were not guilty, why should you concern yourself to vindicate her?

T H E Gentleman, tho' greatly provok'd, kept his Temper still, and smil'd at him; Cousin, says *he*, I doubt you have no better Argument to prove your Wife's Guilt than you have mine, and if you han't, she's as innocent as a sucking Child.

H I S Smiling provok'd him, and he gave the Gentleman the Lie, and added some very scurrilous Language to it, such as might be expected from a Mad-Man, a Man out of himself; not by Lunacy, as a Distemper, but by that worse Frenzy, call'd groundless Jealousy.

A S giving the Lie is the last Injury one Man can do to another with his Tongue, it so provok'd his Cousin, that scorning to draw his Sword upon him, he corrected him heartily for it with his Cane, as he deserv'd; and he again, like a true Coward, [sig.R5^d] (when they were gone) reveng'd himself upon his Wife; for he abus'd her again in a brutish ad barbarous Manner: nor did it pacify him at all that he vented his Rage thus upon his Wife at that time; but he continued it upon every Occasion of his being harrass'd with his own Jealousy: and when-ever he abus'd his Wife after that time, he upbraided her with this Gentleman, and with her still keeping him Company; tho' as it appear'd afterwards, the Gentleman was not in *England*, nor had been for several Months.

I T happened one time in particular, that coming home, not at all in Drink, but very much out of Humour, and, as it seem'd, provok'd, tho' it could not be so much as guess'd at, what the Reason was, he pick'd a Quarrel with his Wife, and without any other Provocation than what was to be found in his own want of Temper, fell foul of her in a most unmerciful manner; and had not Help been fetch'd in 'twas fear'd he would have murther'd her. In a Word, Neighbors coming in to her rescue, saved her from farther Mischief; yet before them all he bad her go out of the House, and forbid her coming any more within Doors.

T H E Lady could not now avoid what she had so long been persuaded to before; so taking some Cloaths, and her own Jewels, which she brought to him, she withdrew the same Evening to her own Brother's House, taking sufficient Witness of the occasion of it.

B U T to bring the Story nearer to the Case in Hand: The Gentleman whom he had thus ill us'd, had (on some occasions of his own) been oblig'd about five Months before his last Broil to go over to *Germany*; and as he went from *England* by Sea and landed at *Hamburgh*, he travell'd from *Hamburgh* up to *Magdeburgh*⁵⁰, and from thence to *Leipsick*⁵¹ in *Saxony*⁵². [sig.R5^b]

A S he was sitting alone in a Summer-House as we call it, or *Garden-House*⁵³, as they more properly call it there, belonging to a Burgher⁵⁴ of *Leipsick*, and reading a Book to divert himself, being in the heat of the Day, and a little after Dinner; he dropt asleep, and dream'd that a Lady was come from *England* to speak with him, and was in the House waiting for him.

U P O N this Dream, and being not very sound asleep, only leaning his Head on his Hand as he was reading, he wak'd; and as soon as he wak'd he started up, and intended to go into the House to see who it should be, when immediately he sees a Lady in an *English* dress coming up the Garden towards the Summer-House.

H E did not know her at first; but when she came nearer she spoke to him; he calling her by her Name, would have saluted her; but she seem'd to decline it, and stepping back, said, You and I, Sir, have been sufficiently abus'd upon that Head already; and I come to you for Justice. I am ill us'd, and in Danger of being murther'd every Day by my cruel Husband on your Account, am and at last turn'd out of Doors.

A L A S ! says *he*, Madam, he is a Brutish Man, and I am very sorry; but what can I do for you?

Y O U know my Innocence, says *she*, as far as relates to yourself; do me justice, I ask no more: and that moment she disappear'd.

H E was extrememly surpriz'd, as he might well be indeed; and the more, because he had not the least notion of its being an Apparition, no more had the Burgher's Servant who let her in at the Door, and waited on her up the Garden to the Summer-House.

H E went immediately back into the House, and enquir'd who let the Lady into the House; and the Servant that had usher'd her up the Walk in [sig.R6^a] the Garden told him he did; and also that he had that Minute let her out again; but looking out into the Street, nothing of her could be seen again, or did he ever see or hear any more of her in that manner.

W H I L E this pass'd, the Lady liv'd a very melancholly retir'd Life in her Brother's Family, seeing no Company, and spending her time in a most uncomfortable Solitude; especially grieved for the Reproach so causelesly rais'd upon her Character, and having nothing to comfort her but the knowledge of her own Innocence; that which we call the Comfort of a good Conscience: which, as the World goes now, I must be cautious how I lay too much stress upon, or moralize too much upon, lest I should be call'd Religious and Grave, which is as much as to say Mad.

T H I S Separation continu'd some time; all endeavors to bring it to a Reconciliation had been try'd, but prov'd ineffectual; the Husband continuing insolently abusive to his Wife; and his Wife (Things being carry'd to such a height) insisting upon a Reparation of the Injury offer'd to her Reputation, by having either the Facts prov'd, or a due Cause of Suspicion assigned. Between both, a Reconciliation seem'd impracticable, and Friends on both sides having done their utmost, began to give it over.

B U T, to the agreeable surprise of all that wish'd well to the Family, the Husband come one Morning to his Wife's Brother all alone, and ask'd to speak with his Wife.

H E R Brother was a little doubtful at first what Answer to give him; and particularly was afraid to bring his Sister forth to him, not knowing what the *Devil* and an exasperated Temper might prompt him to; and he perceiving it, said, with a quite differing Tone from what he us'd to talk with, [sig.R6^b] You need not be afraid, Brother, to let me see my Wife, tho' indeed I have given you all Cause enough to be uneasy; but I assure you I will soon satisfie you that I do not come to do her any harm, but just the contrary: I come to put an end to all this wick'd Breach, and that in a manner as shall be to your Satisfaction, and hers too; and I am very willing you shall be present when I speak to her, for I desire you should hear what I have to say.

H E spoke it with such an apparent Alteration in his Temper, that it was easy to see that he was quite another Man, and that there was no hazard in letting him see her: so he went and acquainted his Wife with what had pass'd; who tho' she was a little afraid at first, yet upon her Brother's persuasions came down, and her Brother led her into the Room to him, in his Hand.

A S soon as he saw his Wife, he run to her, and took her in his Arms and kiss'd her, holding her fast; but was not able to speak a word for some time. At last getting a little vent of his Passion, My Dear, says he, I have wrong'd and asbus'd you; and I come to acknowledge it in

as publick a manner as I possibly can. I come to ask your Pardon for it, and am ready to declare my full Satisfaction of your Innocence, in as open a manner as ever the *Devil* and my ungovern'd Passion inflam'd me against you. Make your own Demands what Satisfaction I shall make you, and what Security I shall give you, that you shall have no more such Treatment, I am ready to comply with them; and go home with me, if you dare trust me. The Moment I break my Promise to you in the least Circumstance, you shall freely remove again without the least hinderance, or the least Contradiction from me: in the mean time depend upon it, you shall never have any occasion of uneasiness given you, and as long as I live I will acknowledge, when ever you desire [sig.R7^a] it, that I did you wrong, and that you gave me no just occasion for what has pass'd.

H E spoke with so much Affection, and even with Tears in his Eyes, that he forc'd Tears not from his Wife only, but from her Brother too, and another Relation of hers that was in the Room with them. In a word, the Reconciliation was made in a few Minutes; for he not only comply'd with any thing his Wife or her Brother desir'd, but even more than they ask'd; and when they propos'd that, to prevent Mistakes afterwards, he would consent they should put into Writing what they desir'd, and what he had said to her, He call'd for a Pen and Ink, and drew

it out himself in the fullest Terms imaginable, to the same purpose as has been related, and fuller indeed than they could desire, and set his Hand to it, desiring the Brother and the other Relation to be Witness of it, and then gave it to his Wife.

U P O N this his Wife with a glad Heart went home that very Night along with him, her Brother and other Relation being invited to go also, which they did; where he entertain'd them very kindly at Supper, which finish'd the Reconciliation, and they liv'd very comfortably together ever after.

B U T now the Reason and Occasion of all this; and whence this strange Alteration proceeded: To this purpose, you are to understand that one Evening this Gentleman being either in his Chamber, or some other Room in his House, (the Story is not particular in that part) he sees his Cousin, who had differ'd with him about his Wife, come into the Room, and says to him, Cousin, I am very sorry to hear you have continu'd to use your Wife ill, and that at last have turn'd her away upon my Account. I come on purpose to admonish you to repent of the Injury you have done her, for she is In- [sig.R7^b] nocent, and you know you have injur'd her; as for the Wrong you do me, I am out of your reach: But fetch your Wife home, and reconcile yourself to her, or I shall

visit you again much less to your Satisfaction than I do now.

H E gave him no time for a Reply, but immediately disappear'd. It may be easily guess'd what a Consternation he was left in, when he found it was an Apparition. He concluded his Cousin was dead, because he said he was out of his reach; and he concluded that this was his Ghost, or his disquieted Soul, and dreaded the threatning of his Return. He endeavoured to wear it off of his Mind, but it would not do; the Impression to be sure would be strengthned by his own Guilt, and both together brought him to himself.

F O R this is to be observ'd in all such things, viz. That it is not the Fright or Surprize that works on the Mind, but the Conviction; and therefore tho' this is one of those Relations which I do not take upon me to assert the fact of from my own knowledge, yet supposing it to be true, the Moral is the same, and on that Account I relate it, viz. That there may be an Apparition of a Person living; and yet the Person living, and so seeming to appear, not knowing any thing of it, or be any way concern'd in it; and so in this Story now told, it is imply'd, that the Lady here was living when she appear'd to the Gentleman in *Germany*, and that the Gentleman in *Germany* was living when he appear'd to his Cousin in *London*, whatever manner they appear'd in; and yet it

seems that neither of them knew any thing of the matter, and doubtless had no concern at all in it.

I H A V E not been able to dive so far into this Story, as to say, that they were ever enquired of afterwards, whether they were acquainted with the Circumstance or no; but I am indifferent as to that [sig.R8^a] Point, it is out of Question with me, that they might not in any way be concer'd in the it self, and yet that it might really be an Apparition of the Persons, their Faces, Voices, Cloaths, and all the needful Apparatus fit for the Delusion.

T H E R E are many Instances of like kind with this, and I have a very particular Relation⁵⁵ by me of a Person who in Apparition told a Friend of his, of the Fire of *London*⁵⁶, two Months before it happen'd, mention'd the manner of the Conflagration, how it would begin in the Heart of the City, and would burn East and West, and lay the City level with the Ground; to use the very words.

H E happen'd not to tell the Place exactly where it was to have been done; if he had, he might have afterwards been brought into Trouble, by the unadvised relating the Particulars; for his Friend believ'd he really saw him; and not that it was an Apparition: But it seems he made a long Religious Excursion upon the dismal Condition of the Citizens, and how their Pride would be brought low; how their Glory would be laid in the Dust; and how it was

all to be look'd upon as a Blow upon them for their Luxury, and for their publick Sins; and so it seem'd to preach pretty much: And you know if Spirits from the other World were to preach, some People have such an Aversion to that dull heavy Business, as they call it, that they would give very little head to it. I say, the Apparition seem'd to preach pretty much upon the Subject, and so the Friend began to be weary of the Discourse, and put him off to something else.

T H A T which seems Particular in this Story, and which (had I room here) would take up some time to Discourse upon at large, is, that the Apparition went off in Form, not discovering it self so much as to be an Apparition; but came in at the Door, was let in by a Servant in the usual manner, after [sig.R8^b] knocking at the Door, and was carry'd into the Parlor among the Family; that it discours'd of other Matters also; as of the *Dutch War*⁵⁷, and the bloody Engagement at Sea: I do not remember exactly, whether it said a bloody Engagement had been, or would be; but I think it was Engagement that had lately been.

T H A T there were several other Transitions in their Discourse, from one Article of publick Business to another; and that at last to that of the Fire of *London*: The Gentleman who it was discours'd to seem'd not to be much concern'd about the Prediction about the Fire,

looking upon it as a piece of guess-work, and that his Friend spoke it as of a thing which he fear'd, rather than as a thing he foretold, and pretended to know of: But after the Terrible Conflagration had happen'd, and that the City was indeed laid low from the East to the West, as had been mention'd, then all the Particulars came into his Mind with some weight, and some unusual reflection; for the Circumstances were too evident to be slightly thought of.

H O W E V E R it pass'd over in the ordinary way, with a little kind of wonder; and it was strange that Mr. M----- should be able to talk so; and sure Mr. M----- deals with the *Devil*, and the like; whereas all this while Mr. M----- knew nothing of the Story; and whatever Hand it was, and for whatever kind purposes, no notice was taken of it, and Mr. M----- had so little knowledge of it himself that his own House was burnt down in the general disaster, and he had hardly time to save one quarter part of his Goods.

I T might indeed be form'd here as an Objection against this Notion, of good Spirits from the Invisible World, and their concerning themselves in giving Notices of approaching Mischiefs, viz. That they do not concern themselves to give such Notices in [sig.S1^d] Cases of publick Calamities, when many thousands not of Persons only, but even of Families, are concern'd, and in danger;

and even where many particular Persons, who at other times have had such warnings from them, and have been as it were their Particular care, have been left to fall in the common disaster.

T H I S is what I may take notice of again, in its proper place; but at present I am rather observing to you what is, than the Reason of its being so: The ways and works of Providence are Sovereign and Superior; the Manner conceal'd, and beyond our Understandings and Reason; not always visible to us; and yet its Proceedings not the less just, or the less to be accounted for in themselves; nor is it necessary that was should always be able to account for them to our selves. Heaven has its own Reasons for all its Actings, and it is not for us to dispute its Sovereignty, any more than to examine into the Reason of its working. The Bishop of *Down*, the Pious and Devout Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*⁵⁸, in the Case of an Apparition yet to be spoken of, would needs have the Person it appear'd to ask this Question when it came again, Why he appear'd, or how he came to appear in so small a matter, as that of doing Justice to one single Child, when so many oppress'd Widows and Orphans groan'd under the weight of greater Injustices, without any of their Relations concerning themselves in the least for their Deliverance? and the Man did accordingly ask the Question, as we shall see in its place; but had no answer

given him, as indeed I thought he ought not to have expected: but of this hereafter.

I T is certain the approach of that Terrible Fire, the like of which was never known in this part of the World, was not discover'd from the Invisible World; at least but to very few: an evident token that departed Souls knew nothing of it, or, if they did, [sig.S1^b] had no Power to come hither, and give notice of it; if they had, what Numbers of Predictions, Forebodings and Apparitions would there have been in the City for some Months before!

B U T are we not answer'd by the Scripture, and might we not reply in the Language of our Saviour speaking of the general Deluge, *Matt. xxiv. 38, 39. For as in the days that were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entred the Ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be?*

J U S T so likewise was it at the time of the Fire of London: 'tis said indeed, with some Remark, that it was not a Wedding Night to many, if to any one Couple in the City; because the Fire beginning on a *Sunday* Morning, very few, if any, are said to be marry'd of a *Saturday*; but as it was a mighty Custom in those Days to marry on a *Sunday*, so there were a great many Wedding appointed for the next Morning, which were hinder'd without any

forebodings or foreknowledge; and that which was infinitely worse, many Women in Travel that very Night, were, as it was reported, forc'd to be carry'd out of their Chambers in the very article of Child-Birth, and some as I have heard were deliver'd in the very Passage from one House to another: Others, not thinking the Fire would follow so fast, having remov'd but a little way, their extremity being great, were oblig'd to be remov'd again; yet we find not notice of these things given in the least.

T H I S indeed is what I say we cannot account for, neither is there any need for us to account for them in the Discourse we are upon; for our Question is not, Why there are no more Notices given than there are, and why they are not universal to one as well as another; as if it were a Grace Men [sig.S2^d] ought to have an equal Claim to: But 'tis a Proposition taht such Apparitions as there are, and that therefore there are certain Agents so appointed to appear.

W E have like Accounts to these at the time of the great Massacre at Paris⁵⁹; a critical Juncture, in which the Rage of Hell seem'd to be carry'd to a terrible Height, and when innocent Blood lay ready to be spilt in a terrible manner; the Unguarded Protestants having no Means to avoid the Mischiefs that attended them, and no Strength to resist the Power of the Cut-throat Armies

which surrounded them; so they had no Intimations from the invisible World to make their Escape.

B U T what does this amount to, any more than the like Cases may argue in a thousand Calamities and Disasters which have befallen Mankind before? Nay, it confirms the grand Truth which I have insisted on; namely, the Souls departed know not any thing, and can communicate nothing, tho' unembodiy'd Spirit may.

F O R could the departed Souls of deceas'd Relations have known that their Fathers, or Children, or Brothers, or Relicts, &c. were the next Day to have been murther'd, can we doubt but they would have given them all the Notice that it was in their Power to do, and at least have alarm'd them so, as to put them upon their Guard, and give them an Opportunity to die like Hero's, as many of them were? and as they did not do thus, I think, without Injustice, or Presumption, we may concluded they cannot; they could not then, neither can others do the like now.

A N D yet as such Notices as the Inhabitants of the invisible World were allow'd to make, I believe they were not without them at that time, tho' it was not thought fit by the Appointment of Heaven to have the wick'd Resolution of Mur- [sig.S2^b] ther and Massacre defeated: as to the Reasons why, which is what we have nothing to

do to dispute, that we leave in Silence, as we may well do.

T H E Histories of those Times are full of the secret Warnings and Notices then given by the kind Apparitions of those Agents (whoever they are) in Dream. The Admiral *Coligni*⁶⁰ had no less than three particular Notices given him by Dreams⁶¹, that his Life was in danger, and that he would be murther'd if he stay'd in *Paris*; an Express was sent to him from the Count *S-----*⁶², at *Saumur*⁶³, to make his Escape and flee for his Life before it was too late; nay, it was even said that the King of *Navarr*⁶⁴, who was afterwards *Hen. IV.* sent a private Message to him to be gone, and if he stay'd one Night longer he would find it impossible: But, as they said afterwards, his Hour was come, and his Fate was determin'd; and he was deaf to his Friends, for several others who had a Jealousy of his Danger, gave him like Warnings, but it was all in vain, he was deaf and indolent to his own Safety.

S O M E others who were more obedient to the heavenly Vision, more toucht then with the Sense of their Danger, as the Count *de Montgomery*⁶⁵, the *Vidame of Chartres*⁶⁶, *de Caversac*⁶⁷, and others, too many to name; and who had severally, and some of them jointly, timely Warning of their Danger, mounted their Horses, and fled the very Night before, and preventing the vigilance of their Pursuers, made their Escape.

I M I G H T here enlarge upon the Probability of this as a Maxim, that tho' these Spirits may have leave to give such Notice and such Warnings to some particular Persons for the saving their Lives, yet we are not to suppose 'tis plac'd in their Power to contravene the Determination of Heaven, and [sig.S3^d] to act contrary to Appointments of his Providence, especially in things of general Import, such as publick Judgements, which are immediately in the disposing of his Power, and not to be disappointed or delay'd.

B E S I D E S, as we may have Reason to believe that they all act by Commission, 'tis also most certain that they cannot go an Inch, no not a Hair's breadth beyond that Commission, or step one Foot out of the Way of it, to the right Hand, or to the left: and thence we are to infer that they do not give farther or more frequent Notices to us, because they are not permitted; and this is, besides the rest, adding a greater Reverence to the thing itself; for take off their superior Commission, and I know not what we should say to them, or of what real Notice or Value they would be.

I C A N N O T but say there were many Notices given of the Calamity of the *Parisian* Massacre, which were enough to have allarm'd the Protestants; and the Chiefs of them were, in some Measure, allarm'd; tho' not sufficient, as it prov'd, to drive them out of the Danger; yet so as

that they did perceive some Mischief was hatching, but they could not possibly guess at the manner; and beside if they had, the other Party had gotten them so far in their Power that they could not avoid the Danger, but were taken (as it were) in a Toil; and yet they did send such Notices of their Danger to their Friends in several Places, as to warn them in time to be upon their Guard; and which Warning did (speaking of second Causes) preserve them from the like Mischief; for the Massacre was intended to be Universal, at least in all Cities in *France*. [sig.S3^b]

C H A P. XII.

*Of Apparitions being said to happen just at the time
when the Person so happening to appear is said to be
departing; the Fiction of it confuted.*

T H E R E is a great Clamour, as I might justly call it, rais'd about Peoples appearing just at the time of their expiring; and so exactly they will tell us it, as to time, as if, tho' a thousand Mile off, the Soul was in Apparition the same Moment I see no foundation for any of these Relations, much less for the Circumstances; and yet the Apparition it self may be really true in Fact: such a Man appear'd to his Wife, such another to his Son, and the like; and they set down the time, adding, and that very Moment, as near as could be calculated, he died, perhaps in the *East-Indies*, or at Sea at some vast distance.

A C E R T A I N Lady of my Acquaintance¹ going out of her Chamber into a Closet in the adjoining Room, saw her Husband walking along in the Room before her: She immediately comes down in a great surprize, tells the Family she had seen her Husband, and she was sure it was he; tho' at the same time she knew her Husband (who was

the Commander of a Ship) was at Sea, on a Voyage to or from the Capes of *Virginia*.

T H E Family takes the Alarm, and tells her, that to be sure her Husband was dead, and that she should be sure to set down the Day of the Month, and the Hour of the Day; and it was ten thousand [sig.S4³] to one but she should find that he died that very Moment, or as near as could be found out.

A B O U T two Months after her Husband comes home very well; but had an Accident befell him in his Voyage, viz. that stepping into the Boat, or out of the Boat, he fell into the Sea, and was in danger of being lost; and this they Calculated upon to be as near the time as they could judge, that he appear'd to his Wife. Now if this was his Ghost, or Apparition of his Soul, in the Article of Death, it seems his Soul was mistaken, and did not know whether it was dismiss'd or no; which is a little strange, I must confess: but of that hereafter.

Sir Jo----- O-----² was a Person of Note³, and of well known Credit; his Lady and one of her Sons liv'd here in *London*; and being of a gay Disposition, and given to live high and expensive, it was thought she spent beyond what the Knight could afford, and that he was sensible of it, and uneasie at it: She had a very good House in *London*, and a Country House or Lodgings for the Summer at ----- and kept a great Equipage; the Consequence of things did

at last prove, that Sir J-----'s dislike of it was justly founded: but that's by the by.

I T happened one Day, the Lady being at her Country Lodgings, a Person well dress'd, appearing very much like a Gentleman, came to her City House, and knocking at the Door, ask'd the Maid if there were any Lodgings to be let there, and if her Lady was at home; the Maid answer'd No, there were no Lodgings to Lett there, and speaking as if it was with some Resentment, *Lodgings!* says she, no, *I think not!* my Lady does not use to Lett Lodgings. Well but *Sweet Heart*, says he, don't be displeas'd, your Lady has had some thoughts of staying at her Summer lodgings all the Winter, [sig.S4^b] and so would dispose of some Apartments here for the Parliament Season; and I am directed by her self to look upon the Rooms, and give my Answer; let me but just see them, Child, I shall do you no harm: so he step'd in, and as it were push'd by her, going into the first Parlour, and sat down in an easy Chair, his Servant staying at the Door; and as the Maid did not apprehend any Mischief, she went in after him; for he did not look like one that came with ill Design, or to rob the House; but look'd like a Gentleman that could have nothing of such a kind in his View; so I say she went in after him.

W H E N she came in he rose up, and looking about the Room, he found fault with every thing, the Furniture, and

the manner of it, nothing pleas'd him; not as if not good enough for him, but that all was too good, and too rich, and far above her Quality that own'd it; That the Lady did not know what she did, that it was an Expence she could not carry on, and her Estate would not support it; but that such a way of living would bring all the Family to Ruin and Beggery, and the like.

B Y and by she carry'd him into another Parlour, and there he did just the same; he told her he admir'd what her Lady meant; that she liv'd in a Figure that Sir *John's* Estate could never maintain, and she would but ruin him, and bring him into Debt, and so he would be undone by her Extravagance.

U P O N this the Maid begun to take him short a little, and told him, this was all out of the way of what he came about; if the Lodgings were too good for him, that was his Business indeed, but else he had nothing to do with her Lady, and how she pleas'd to furnish her House: That her Master was a Gentleman of great Estate, and had large Plantations in *Jamaica*; that he constantly supply'd her Lady with Money, sufficient for her Support, and for all her Expenses; and she wonder'd he should trouble himself with that, which she was sure was none of his Business: in short, the Girl huffed^d him, and ask'd him what it was to him, who was a Stranger, how her Lady liv'd.

H O W E V E R he turns to the Maid, and sitting down again, calmly enter'd into some Discourse with her about her Lady, and her ways of Living, and told so many of the Secrets of the Family to her, that she began to use him better, and to perceive he knew more of the Family than she had thought he had, or indeed than she did her self; at last the Wench began to be uneasie, and to question in her Thought, whether it was not her Master himself, come over *Incognito*, and only that he had not yet discover'd himself.

S H E tried several time to learn who he was, his Quality, his Country, his Name, and how she might send to him; but he put it off, only told her he would go to ---- where her Lady lodg'd, and wait upon her Lady himself; and so treating the Servant very civilly, and thanking her for showing him the House, he went away in Form with his Servant following him, so that he did not vanish as an Apparition at all.

Y E T the poor Wench was very uneasie, she began to think it could not be an ordinary Creature, because he gave such strange and particular Accounts of things done in the Family; as where several things were deposited which belong'd to the Family, with several Circumstances belonging to her Mistress, to her little Son, and to his Father in the *West-Indies*; and, in short, said some things, which, as she said, none but the *Devil* could tell

of: which, by the way, was talking as ignorant People talk of such things; [sig.S5^b] namely, that if any thing be said, or done, out of the ordinary Way, and more than is common for Men to talk, or do, they immediately say it must be the *Devil*.

I T must be confess'd, it shews a Difference between the Present and the Past Ages: In former Times, if a Man did extraordinary Things, he was look'd upon as inspir'd by Heaven; or if great miraculous Things were wrought, it was said immediately to be from Heaven. *Come see a Man that has told me all I ever did*, says the Woman of Samaria, John iv. 29. and it follows, *is not this the Christ?* she did not say presently this must be the *Devil*. *Never Man spake like this Man!* say the Messengers sent to apprehend Jesus Christ, and away they came without him, strook with awful Apprehensions, John vii 49. not concluding presently that it was the *Devil*. *No Man could do these Miracles that thou douest, except God be with him*, John iii. 2. he does not say, no Man could do such Miracles as these, but it must be the *Devil*. On the contrary, his Conclusion is, *We know by these Miracles, that thou art a Teacher sent from God*. But now, if any thing be done extraordinary, or said surprisingly, it must be the *Devil*; as if God has ceas'd to work, and all Extraordinaries were committed to the *Devil*.

T H U S the *Petruis Rostan*⁵, which is a wonderful Passage cut through a Mountain near *Briançon*⁶, on the Frontiers of *Dauphine*⁷, call'd one of the five Wonders of *Dauphine*⁸, is said to be the work of the Devil; only because the People have no History recording the Time or Manner of its making, or by who; and because they think it is past the Power of Men's Hand's: and the like of many Places, and Things in *England*. But this is a Digression.

T H E poor Wench I am speaking of was surpriz'd very much at this Gentleman, and more af- [sig.S6^a] ter he was gone, than before; for he did not give her time before, to reflect upon the Particulars he mention'd to her, but following one thing with another, he found her enough to do to take in the heads of Things in the gross.

B U T when he was gone, and she came to reflect and lay things together, she began to consider, Who must this be? How could he know such and such things? How could he tell whose Picture that was? Where my Mistress had such a Suit of Curtains, and such a Cabinet? Who must he be, to tell me how long my Master has been at *Jamaica*, how much his Estate is there, and how much Money he has sent my Lady over, in so and so long time? This must be the Devil in my Master's Cloaths, something must be in it, I'll go to my Lady, and let her know it all; and with this the Maid gets a Woman, that used to be trusted in

such Cases, to look after the House, and away she goes to ----- to her Mistress, without so much as staying to dress her.

I N D E E D I think 'tis part of the Story, that the Gentleman desir'd she would acquaint her Mistress with it; that such a Person had been there; and gave her some particular Tokens, by which he said her Mistress would understand who he was; and that she should tell her what he said, that her Income would not support the Expenses she liv'd at, but that it would bring her to Ruin, and she would be undone; but this Part I do not positively remember; but that he told the Maid it would be so, that I am particular in.

H O W E V E R, the poor Girl, the more she ruminated upon the thing, the more she was frighted, and disorder'd about it; and away she went, as I have said, to give her Lady an Account of it: and she was the more eager to go also, because she understood him, that he intended to wait upon her him- [sig.S6^b] self to talk about the Lodgings; and so she would prepare her Lady to receive him, and to consider what kind of a Man it must be, that she might not be frighted at him: But he had been too quick for the Maid.

W H E N she came to ----- she found her Mistress thrown down upon her Bed very ill, and so ill, that at first they told her she could not speak with her. Don't tell

me, *says Mary*, (that is the *London Maid*) I must speak with her, and will speak with her, for I have extraordinary Business with her. What extraordinary Business can you have? *says the Lady's Woman*, taunting at her; if your Business was from the *Devil* you can't speak with my Lady just now, for she is very ill, and laid down upon the Bed.

F R O M the *Devil!* *says Mary*. I don't know but it may, and I believe it is indeed, and I must speak with my Lady immediately.

N A Y, *says the Woman*, here has been one Messenger too many from the *Devil* already, I think; sure you don't come of this Errand too, do ye?

I D O N'T know whose Errand I come of, but I am frightened out of my Wits; let me speak with my Lady presently, or I shall die before I deliver my Message.

D I E! *says the Woman*: I wish my Lady don't die before she can hear it; pr'ythee *Mary*, if it be any thing to fright her, don't tell it to her just now, for she is almost frightened to Death already.

W H Y, *says Mary*, has my Lady seen any thing?

A Y, ay; Seen! *says the Woman*, she has seen and heard too; here has been a Man here, has brought her some dreadful Tidings, I don't know what it is.

T H E Y talk'd this so loud, or were so near, that the Lady heard something of it, and immediately she rung a Bell for her Woman. [sig.S7^d]

W H E N the Woman went in, Who is that below, *says she*, talking so earnestly? is any body come in from *London*?

Y E S, Madam, *says her Woman*, here is *Mary* come to speak with your Ladyship.

M A R Y come, *says she*, with a Surprise, what's the Matter! what, has she seen any thing too? mercy on me, what's the Matter! what does she say?

S H E does not say much, Madam, *says the Woman*, but she wants mightily to speak with your Ladyship, and is in a great Hurry.

W H A T, *says the Lady*, is she frightened?

I B E L I E V E she is, *says the Woman*, but she won't tell any thing but to your self.

O, I shall die! *says the Lady*; call her up.

P R A Y Madam, *says her Woman*, don't call her up 'till your Ladyship has recover'd your self a little from your Disorders; she'll tell you some wild Tale or other of her own Imagination, that will raise the Vapours, and do you a Mischief.

O, *says the lady*, let me hear it, let it be what it will; if it be from the *Devil*, it can't be worse than it is; call her up, I must speak with her.

A C C O R D I N G L Y *Mary* came up, and the Woman was order'd to withdraw.

A S soon as the Door was shut, her Lady burst out into Tears again, for she had been crying vehemently before. O *Mary*, says she, I have had a dreadful Visit this Afternoon, here has been your Master.

M Y Master! Why, Madam, that's impossible.

N A Y it has been your Master to be sure, or the *Devil* in his Likeness.

I N a word, 'tis certain it was her Husband in Apparition, or an Apparition of her Husband, and he talk'd very warmly and closely to her, and told her his Estate would not support her expensive way of Living, and that she would bring her self [sig.S7^b] to Misery and Poverty; and a great deal more to the same Purpose, as he had said to *Mary*.

M A R Y immediately ask'd her Ladyship, what manner he appear'd in; and by the Description that her Mistress gave, it was exactly the same Figure that came to her, and desired to see the Lodgings; so *Mary* gave her Lady a particular Relation of what happen'd to her also, and of the Message she was charg'd to deliver.

W H A T follow'd upon this Alarm, and how the Lady was reduced, and obliged to sell her fine Furniture and Equipage, and came to very low Circumstances, tho' it was a Part of the Story, is not so much to my Purpose in the

Relation. But what is remarkable to the Case in Hand is, that they allege, that just at this Juncture Sir J----- O---ne, the Lady's Husband, died in the *West-Indies*: I suppose by his Death her Supplies were immediately stopped, and that was the Occasion of her being reduced so suddenly.

N O W the Apparition, and its appearing in the Shape or Figure of the Husband, his warning her of her approaching Circumstances, and moving her to abate her expensive way of Living, and the like, all this is agreeable to the Opinion I have already given, that good Spirits may be allowed to assume humane Shape, and the Shape of any particular Person, whether the Person being dead or living; and may appear to us, to caution us in our wrong Measures, to warn us against impending Mischiefs, and to direct us in Difficulties. And how merciful is it to Mankind, that there are such good Monitors at hand, at any time, for our good!

B U T that this must be just in the Article of Death, just when the Person was dying, and the Soul departing; as if the Soul could stay in its Passage, between Life, and the eternal State, to call at this, or that Place, and deliver a Message: [sig.S8^d] For Example; if it was to be carry'd by the Angels into *Abraham's* Bosom, you must suppose those Angels would go about with it from *Jamaica* to *London*, to give it leave to speak with his

Wife, before its Transition, before those swift Messengers perform'd their Task; nay that he must stop at the *London* House, assume a Shape for that Purpose, talk about the most frivolous things with *Mary* the Servant Maid, and then go with another formal Errand to --- to his Wife, all this in his Journey; and having dispatch'd these more weighty Affairs, then go on for Heaven afterwards.

T H I S, I say, has to me no Consistency in it, no Coherence, it does not hang together in my Opinion at all, nor can I make any common Sense of it; no, not if I was to come to the old poetick Fictions of *Charon* and his Ferry-Boat; even the old Ferry-man would not have stept out of his Way, upon any such Business.

W H A T might be done by the Agency of those Spirits, appointed by the Great Lord of all Spirit, to attend for the good of his Creatures, I have not the least Objection against; but that the Soul of the Deceased, or Departed, can come of this Errand it self, that I deny, and must insist upon it, that there is neither Reason or Religion in it, 'tis founded wholly in the Imagination; and tho' the Imagination may not in this Case form the Apparition, yet 'tis evident the Imagination only appropriates it to the Person, that is, to the Soul of the Person, who has really no Share in the Operation.

U P O N this Foundation likewise stands the old Heathen Notion, taken from the Case of *Achilles* and his Friend *Patroclus*, that the Soul of the Deceased cannot be at Rest, 'till he has come and given Notice of such and such things; that Justice be done to such and such injur'd Persons; and Money, so and so appropriated, be regularly disposed, and the [sig.S8^b] Will of the Deceased punctually performed: These I take not to be imaginary but fictitious, and made or supplied out of the Invention of the Relator, in order to dish up the Story.

A N D this makes the Story⁹ of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Father, of which mention has been made already, be liable to so many Exceptions: That his Father could not rest, or his Soul could not be at rest, because of the wicked Life his Son *George*¹⁰ liv'd at Court; That part must certainly be added by some of the very very many Relaters, or who have call'd themselves Relaters of that Story; and my Lord *Claredon*¹¹, who seems to be the most exact and judicious in the putting the whole Story together, has none of that Passage in his Account of it, as we shall see presently.

U P O N what Religious Foundation we can suggest, that the Sins of the Children should disquiet the Fathers in their Graves, or that the Souls departed can receive any Impression from the Behaviour of those in Life,

subsequent to any Action those Souls departed have been concern'd in?

T H A T they may be affected in a Future State with the Wickedness and Offenses committed in their past Life, that I will not doubt; tho' even not that in such a manner, as to send them back hither on any Errand about it; for all is irretrievable; as there is no Repentance, so no Reparation, there is neither *Work nor Invention in the Grave*¹², whither we are all going. The Soul may be in a State of Self-Reflection and Reproach; but not in a State of Reaction, no recovering for our selves, nor concern for others; 'tis all out of the Question, and all the Notices from the other side of the Curtain come from other Hands, whose Name soever they may speak in, or whose Shape soever they may assume. [sig.T1^d]

I A M forc'd, how reluctant soever, to talk Scripture to my Readers, upon this nice part of the Subject; whether they will lay any weight upon it or no, be that to themselves.

I I N S I S T upon it, that the Souls of the dead can make no Visits hither when once they are removed; that when they are unembodied, disrob'd of Flesh and Blood, they have no more concern with us or about us; so as either to disturb their Rest or ours; and this is plain to me, not only from the Nature of the thing, from Reason and Observation; but from the Scripture. *Eccl. ix. 5.*

For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a Reward, for the memory of them is forgotten. This latter part relates to their having any Reward or Concern in things of this Life, no more Reward or Benefit or Share of things here: But look into the next words, ver. 6. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the Sun.

W H A T can be plainer than this, if Scripture be of any moment among us? if not, I can say nothing to that.

But I say, what can be plainer, and what do those People mean who tell us a Ghost or Spirit appear'd, and said it could not be at Rest 'till it had come to do so and so, 'till it had discover'd such and such things, and 'till it had seen well perform'd?

I F my Vote in this Case may be of any Value, or I may offer any thing by way of Direction to weaker Heads; let them make this one thing a Character or Mark to know such things by, or to judge of them, viz. That when they meet with any Story told in such a manner, they should conclude it a fiction, a cheat; that it is only a Story made by the Invention of the Story-Maker, a Delu-
[sig.T1^b] sion, and that no Spirit or Apparition really coming upon any Message from the Invisible World, ever talks after that manner; or if they do 'tis a Cheat of

the *Devil* to carry some Delusion, and to make some Lye appear plausible; for that there can be no reality in it, that's asserted as above, *The dead know not any thing*, not any thing *H E R E*; but their *Love*, and their *Hatred*, and their *Envy is perished*.

W E have another Story to offer in this case, which has been mention'd, as if it were the Act and Deed of the Person departed; and in whose Name it was said to be done, and who, as we may say, was personated in it. I shall relate the Story impartially as I receiv'd it, and let all the Advantage that can be taken of it be made, I believe it will not amount to any rational Conclusion, in the Favour of this Notion, that the Soul of the Person deceased is in any way concern'd in it, or in any part of it.

T H I S is the famous Story of the Apparition of one *James Haddock* in *Ireland*¹³, which is publish'd many several ways, and that by several Authors; and some of them intimating that it really was the departed Soul of *James Haddock*, who could not be at Rest, as some of the Writers of the Story would insinuate, because his little Son by his Wife *Eleanor Welch*¹⁴ was wrong'd in a Lease left by him to the Child; but kept from him by her second Husband.

T H E abridg'd Story is this. In the Year 1662, an Apparition meets one *Francis Taverner*¹⁵ on the Highway;

the Man having Courage to speak to it, asks it what he is? and the Apparition tells him he is *James Haddock*, and gives him several Tokens to remember him by, which *Taverner* also calling to mind owns them; and then boldly demands of the Apparition what business he had with him; [sig.T2^d] the Apparition did not tell his Business that Night; but would have had *Taverner* rode back his way with him, and he would tell him his Business, which *Taverner* refus'd, as well as he might; and that part indeed seems the only improbable part of the Story.

H O W E V E R the next Night the Apparition comes to him again, and then tells him the Business, which was to desire him to go to his Wife, whose Maiden Name was *Eleanor Welsh*; but was then marry'd to one *Davis*, which *Davis* with-held the Lease from the Orphan, *Haddock's* Son, and tell her she should cause Justice to be done to the Child.

T A V E R N E R neglected to perform this Errand, and was so continually follow'd by the Apparition, that it was exceedingly terrible to him; and at last it threaten'd to tear him in Pieces, if he did not go of his Errand.

U P O N this he goes and delivers the Message to the Woman, who it seems took but small Notice of it; and then the Apparition came again, and told him he must go to his Executor, and do the same Errand; which he was it seems

afraid to do, for fear of *Davis*; but the Apparition threaten'd *Davis* if he should attempt to do him (*Taverner*) and Injury.

N. B. *Here I am to Note, that this Story made so much Noise in the Country, and the Particulars appear'd to be so faithfully related by Taverner, that abundance of Persons of Note came to him to have the Relation from his own Mouth; and among the rest the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, who I name in Reverence, not to his Dignity only, or so much, as in Reverence of his know Piety and Seriousness in Religion: Being the fam'd Doctor Jeremy Taylor, Author of a known Book call'd Rules of Holy Living and Dying*¹⁶. [sig.T2^b]

T H I S Reverend Father sent for the said *Francis Taverner*, to examine him about this *strange scene of Providence*, so the Bishop call'd it; and he did examine his strictly about it, and the Account says, his Lordship was fully satisfied, that the Apparition was true and real; that is to say, that it was true that there really was such an Apparition.

N O W all this is within the Bounds of what I have laid down, *viz.* That there really are Apparitions, and these Apparitions do personate such and such Bodies and Shapes, whose Names they take upon them, and whose Persons they represent.

B U T for the rest, I think all the Notions that the People then entertain'd of it, and even the Bishop among the rest, must be very erroneous and mistaken. For,

1. T H E Bishop entertain'd the Story, as if this Apparition was really the Soul of the departed *James Haddock*, as appear'd by a second Examination of *Taverner* by his Lordship; for the Lady *Conway*¹⁷, and other Persons of Quality, hearing the Bishop had sent for *Taverner* to examine him, went all away to be present at the Examination: And the Bishop being gone to a Town call'd *Hillsbro*¹⁸ three Miles off, the Company went all thither, and *Taverner* was sent for to them, and there examin'd of all the Particulars again, and answer'd again to the Satisfaction of the Company.

B U T here (and for this reason I relate this part) his Lordship, after asking many more Questions, concluded by advising *Taverner* to ask the Apparition when it came again, Whence are you, are you a good or an evil Spirit? by which is suppos'd his Lordship understood, Are you in a good or bad State; for his next Question was, Where is your Abode? what Station do you hold? how are you regimented in the other World? and what is the Reason that you appear for the Relief of your Son [sig.T3^a] in so small a Matter, when so many Widows and Orphans are oppress'd in the World, being defrauded of greater

Matter, and none from thence of their Relations appear to right them?

A N D the very same Night *Taverner* meeting the Apparition again, who, it seems, was fully satisfy'd with what he had done in delivering the Message to the Executor; at this Appearing *Taverner* ask'd him the Questions above, but it gave him no Answer; and indeed it could not be expected that Curiosity should be answer'd.

F O R, as I said above, it is evident by he Questions, the Bishop, in all these Examinations, fell in with the vulgar Error of the Time about such Apparitions, namely, that it was the Soul of *James Haddock*; and well indeed he might ask how he came to Appear, when others in Cases of greater Moment did not.

B U T he should have ask'd, How is it possible you that are dead should be acquainted with these Circumstances, when the Word of God says expressly the Dead know not any thing, and that all their Love and Hatred is perished? Had he ask'd him, that, perhaps he would have told him that he was not the Soul of *James Haddock*, but a good Spirit sent from the invisible World by the especial direction of Heaven, to right a poor, ruin'd, oppress'd Orphan, abandon'd to Injury by its own unnatural Mother. But to talk of the Soul of *James Haddock*, and what Station it held in the other World, the Apparition might well go away, and give no Answer to it.

N O R in any of this Discourse did the Apparition pretend it was not at Rest, or could not be at Rest 'till Justice was done to the Child, or 'till the Message was deliver'd: the Apparition was too just to itself to say so: and on the other Hand, 'tis to me one of the most convincing Proofs, that [sig.T3^b] it was really an Apparition or Appearance of a Spirit.

N O W, as in other Cases, what Spirit it was may be worth taking Notice of; here is not the least room to suggest that it was the *Devil*, or an evil Spirit; and therefore the Bishop was wrong in that too, to ask if it was a good or evil Spirit; for how should his Wisdom judge, who was himself a good Man, that an evil Spirit should come of a good Errand, to right an injur'd Orphan, an oppress'd Fatherless Child? the *Devil*, or any evil Spirit, could hardly be suppos'd to move about such Business.

I T is to be observ'd here, and should have been added to the Story, that the said *Davis* and his Wife, tho' it seems much against his Will, did give up the Lease to the Child, the Son of that *James Haddock*; with this dismal Circumstance, attending it, viz. That about five Years after, and when the Bishop was dead, one *Costlet*¹⁹, who was the Child's Trustee, threatn'd to take away the Lease again, rail'd at *Taverner*, and made terrible Imprecations upon himself if he knew of the Lease, and threatened to

go to Law with the Orphan. But one Night being drunk at the Town of *Hill-Hall*²⁰, near *Lisburne*²¹ in *Ireland*, where all this Scene was laid, going home he fell from his Horse and never spoke more, and so the Child enjoy'd the Estate peaceably ever after.

I N a Word, the little injur'd Orphan seem'd to be the Care of Heaven in a particular manner; and the good Angel which appear'd in its behalf without doubt executed God's Justice upon the wicked drunken Oppressor, the Trustee; and as he imprecated Vengeance upon himself, so the same Spirit might be Commission'd to see it fall upon him.
[sig.T4^d]

A N D here it most naturally occurs to observe that the departed Souls of Men and Women dead and buried, cannot be suppos'd to have any Commission to execute particular Vengeance on any in this World; the Supposition of this would bring a confus'd medley of Notions upon us, such as would be inconsistent not with Religion only, but even with common Sense; and which need not take up any of our Pains to confute them.

N O T H I N G has more fill'd the idle Heads of the old Women of these latter Ages than the Stories of Ghosts and Apparitions coming to People, to tell them where Money was hidden, and how to find it; and 'tis wonderful to me that such Tales should make such Impressions, and taht sometimes among wise and judicious People too, as we find

they have done. How many old Houses have been almost pull'd down, and Pitts fruitlessly dug in the Earth, at the ridiculous Motion of pretended Apparition? of which I shall speak more in its Place.

I H A V E hither to studiously avoided giving you any Accounts, however extraordinary, that have been already made publick; but this one, which relates to the Assassination of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, (whether famous or infamous I know not which to determine him) in the time of the late King *Charles I*, I cannot omit, because the various manner of its being related so eminently touches the Case in Hand.

T H A T the Duke of *Buckingham* was stabb'd by one Lieutenant *Felton*²² at *Portsmouth*²³, as he was going upon an Expedition for the Relief of *Rochelle*²⁴, History is so full of it, and all that know any thing of our *English Annals* are so well acquainted with the Story²⁵ of it, that I need say nothing to introduce that Part: Mr. *Aubrey* takes upon him to relate the Story of an Apparition upon this Occasion in the following manner:
[sig.T4^b]

" T O one Mr. *Towes*²⁶ who had been School-fellow with
" Sir *George Villers*²⁷, the Father of the first Duke of
" *Buckingham*, and was his Friend and Neighbour, as he lay
" in his Bed awake (and it was Day-light) came into his
" Chamber the Phantome of his dear Friend Sir *George*

" *Villers*. Said Mr. *Towes* to him, Why, you are dead!

" what makes you here? Said the Knight, I am dead, But

" cannot rest in Peace for the Wickedness and Abomination

" of my Son *George* at Court. I do appear to you to tell

" him of it, and to advise and dehort him from his evil

" ways. Said Mr. *Towes*, The Duke will not believe me,

" but will say that I am mad, or doat. Said Sir *George*

" Go to him from me, and tell him by such a Token (a

" Mole) that he had in some secret Place, which none but

" himself knew of. Accordingly Mr. *Towes* went to the

" Duke, who *laugh'd at his Message*. At his return home,

" the *Phantome* appeared again, and told that the Duke

" would be stabb'd (he drew out a Dagger) a quarter of a

" Year after; which accordingly happened.

T H I S Part of the Story indeed is calculated like a true Chimney-corner Piece of News; that Sir *George*, who was dead, should say he could not rest in Peace for the Wickedness and Abomination of his Son *George* at Court.

P R E P O S T E R O U S ! What State must old Sir *George* be in? If in a State of Misery, what does he mean by *resting in Peace*? if in a State of Blessedness, what could his Son do to impeach his Rest? and if we shall give any weight to what the Scripture says in that Case, he knew nothing of him, let his own State or his Son's *Abomination* (as he calls it) be they what would. See *Job* xiv. 19, 20, 21. *The waters wear the Stones: thou wastest*

away the things which grow out of the dust of the earth, and thou destroyest the hope of man. Thou prevailest for ever against [sig.T5^d] him, and he passeth: thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away. His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them.

'T I S plain here that the Hope (that is the Knowledge and Wisdom) of Man as to this World, is destroyed and wash'd away in Death; his Sons may rise or fall, be great or little, high or low, good or evil, 'tis all one to him, he knows nothing of it. How then could Sir *George Villers* say, several Years after he was dead too, that he could not Rest in Peace? What! had he been at Rest and in Peace and was he disquieted again by his Son *George's* Wickedness? that does not hang together at all. The old Knight had been dead several Years before his Son *George* came to rise at Court; when he did rise, he was not immediately so abominably wicked as he was afterwards: Where then was the Soul of Sir *George* the Father, all the while? his Rest could not be disturb'd until the Circumstances that disturb'd it happen'd.

B U T my Lord *Claredon* tells the same Story, with much more Probability of Truth; for first he leaves out the Absurdity, which indeed his Lordship was too wise a Man to impose upon the World with the Sanction of his

Authority, nor was there Sense enough in it to give it Credit.

I N the next Place he does not make the Person to whom Sir *George Villers* appear'd, be an Equal, and an Intimate Friend, but one that had liv'd in the same Town where Sir *George* had liv'd, and had not seen him for many Years, but recollected him from the Cloaths he had seen him wear; whereas the Story above makes them dear Friends, which if it had been so, it was not likely he should refuse to hear the Message, and yet he scruples it very much. [sig.T5^b]

B U T there are more discording Circumstances in the Story. Let us take the Lord *Claredon's* Relation, which is done with an apparent Regard to Truth, as is as follows²⁸:

*The Account of the Apparition of Sir George Villers,
relating to Murther of the Duke of Buckingham his Son,
as taken from the Lord Claredon's History, Vol. 1. Fo.
34, 35. as follows:*

" T H E R E were many Stories scatter'd abroad at that
" time of several Prophecies and Predictions of the
" Duke's untimely and violent Death; amongst the rest,
" there was one that was upon a better Foundation of
" Credit then usually such Discourses are founded upon.

" T H E R E was an Officer in the King's Wardrobe in
" *Windsor-Castle*, of a good Reputation for Honesty and
" Discretion, and then about the Age of fifty Years of
" more.

" T H I S Man had in his Youth been bred in a School in
" the Parish where Sir *George Villers*, the Father of the
" Duke, liv'd, and had been very much cherish'd and
" obliged in that Season of his Age by the said Sir
" *George*, whom afterwards he never saw.

" A B O U T six Months before the miserable End of the
" Duke of *Buckingham*, about Midnight, this Man being in
" his Bed at *Windsor*, where his Office was, and in very
" good Health, there appeared to him on the side of his
" Bed, a Man of very venerable Aspect, who drew the
" Curtains of his Bed, and fixing his Eyes upon him,
" ask'd him if he knew him.

" T H E poor Man, half dead with Fear and Apprehension,
" being ask'd the second time, whether [sig.T6^d] he
" remembered him, and having in that time called to his
" Memory the Presence of Sir *George Villers*, and the very
" Cloaths he used to wear, in which at that time he
" seem'd to be habited, he answer'd him, That he thought
" him to be that Person; he reply'd, He was in the right,
" that he was the same, and that he expected a Service
" from him, which was, That he should go from him to his
" Son the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tell him, if he did not

" somewhat to ingratiate himself to the People, or at
" least to abate the extreme Malice which they had
" against him, he would be suffer'd to live but a
" short time.

" A F T E R this Discourse he disappear'd, and the poor
" Man (if he had been at all waking) slept very well
" 'till Morning, when he believed all this to be a Dream,
" and consider'd it no otherwise.

" T H E next Night, or shortly after, the same Person
" appear'd to him again, in the same Place, and about the
" same time of Night, with an Aspect a little more severe
" then before, and ask'd him, Whether he had done as he
" required of him; and perceiving he had not, gave him
" very sever Reprehensions, told him he expected more
" Compliance from him, and that if he did not perform his
" Commands, he should enjoy no Peace of Mind; but should
" always be pursu'd by him: Upon which, he promised him
" to obey. But the next Morning, waking out of a good
" Sleep, tho' he was exceedingly perplex'd with the
" lively Representation of all the Particulars to his
" Memory, he was willing still to persuade himself that
" he had only dream'd, and consider'd that he was a
" Person at such a distance from the Duke, that he knew
" not how to find out any Admission to his Presence, much
" less [sig.T6^b] had any Hope to be believed in what he
" should say; so with great Trouble and Unquietness he

" spent some time in thinking what he should do; and in
" the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

" T H E same Person appeared to him the third Time with
" a terrible Countenance, and bitterly reproaching him
" for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor
" Man had, by this time, recover'd the Courage to tell
" him, that in Truth he had deferred the Execution of his
" Commands, upon considering how difficult a thing it
" would be for him to get any Access to the Duke, having
" Acquaintance with no Person about him; and if he should
" obtain Admission to him, he should never be able to
" persuade him that he was sent in such a manner; that he
" should at least be thought to be mad, or to be set on
" and employ'd by his own, or the Malice of other Men to
" abuse the Duke; and so he should be sure to be undone.

" T H E Person reply'd, as he had done before, that he
" should never find Rest 'till he should perform what he
" required, and therefore he were better to dispatch it;
" that the Access to his Son was known to be very easie,
" and that few men waited long for him; and for gaining
" him Credit, he would tell him two or three
" Particulars, which he charged him never to mention them
" to any Person living but to the Duke himself; and he
" should no sooner hear them but he should believe all
" the rest he should say; and so repeating his Threats,
" he left him.

" I N the Morning the poor Man, more confirm'd by the
" last Appearance, made his Journey to *London*, where the
" Court then was; he was very well known to Sir *Ralph*
" *Freeman*²⁹, one of the Masters of Requests, who had
" married a Lady [sig.T7^d] that was nearly ally'd to the
" Duke, and was himself received by him: To him this
" Man went, and tho' he did not acquaint him with all
" Particulars, he said enough to let him know there was
" something extraordinary in it; and the Knowledge he had
" of the Sobriety and Discretion of the Man, and made the
" more Impression on him: He desired that by his means he
" might be brought to the Duke in such a Place and such
" a Manner as should be thought fit, affirming that he
" had much to say to him, and of such a Nature as would
" require much Privacy, and some Time and Patience in the
" hearing.

" S I R *Ralph* promis'd he would speak first with the
" Duke of him, and then he should understand his
" Pleasure; and accordingly, the first Opportunity he
" did inform him of the Reputation and Honesty of the
" Man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of
" the matter.

" T H E Duke, according to his unusual Openness and
" Condescension, told him, that he was the next Day early
" to hunt with the King; that his Horses should attend
" him at *Lambeth*³⁰ Bridge, where he should land by five

" of the Clock in the Morning; and if the Man attended
" him there at that Hour, he would walk and speak with
" him as long as necessary.

" S I R *Ralph* carried the Man with him the next
" Morning, and presented him to the Duke at his Landing,
" who receiv'd him courteously, and walk'd aside in
" Conference near an Hour; none but his own Servants
" being at that Hour in that Place; and they and Sir
" *Ralph* at such a Distance, that they could not hear a
" Word, tho' the Duke sometimes spoke loud, and with
" great Commotion, which Sir *Ralph* the more easily
" observ'd and perceived, because he kept his Eyes always
" fix'd upon the Duke, having procur'd the [sig.T7^b]
" Conference upon somewhat he knew there was of
" extraordinary.

" The Man told him, in his Return over the Water, that
" when he mention'd those Particulars which were to gain
" him Credit, (the Substance whereof he said he durst not
" impart unto him) the Duke's Colour chang'd, and he
" swore he could only come at that Knowledge by the
" Devil, for those Particulars were only know to himself
" and to one Person more, who he was sure would never
" speak of it.

" T H E Duke pursu'd his Purpose of Hunting, but was
" observed to ride all Morning with great Pensiveness and
" in deep Thoughts, without any Delight of the Exercise

" he was upon; before the Morning was spent, left the
" Field, and alighted at his Mother's Lodgings in
" *Whitehall*³¹, with whom he was shut up with for the
" Space of two or three Hours; the Noise of their
" Discourse frequently reaching the Ears of those who
" attended in the next Rooms. And when the Duke left
" her, his Countenance appear'd full of Trouble, with a
" Mixture of Anger; a Countenance that was never before
" observed in him in any Conversation with her, towards
" whom he had a profound Reverence; and the *Countess*³²
" her self (for tho' she was married to a private
" Gentleman, *Sir Thomas Compton*³³, she had been created
" *Countess of Buckingham* shortly after her Son had
" first assumed that Title) was at the Duke's leaving her
" found over-whelm'd in Tears, and in the highest Agony
" imaginable.

" W H A T E V E R there was of all this, it is
" notorious Truth, that when the News of the Duke's
" Murther (which happen'd within a few Months after) was
" brought to his Mother, she seem'd not in the least
" degree surprized, but receiv'd it as if she had
" foreseen it; nor did after- [sig.T8³] wards express
" such a degree of Sorrow as was expected from such a
" Mother for the Loss of such a Son.

B E S I D E S the above-named clashing Circumstances in
the differing Relation of this Story, there are one or

two that are very material, as will appear by the following Remarks.

1. *A U B R E Y* says Mr. *Towes*, as he calls him, went to the Duke, and told him the Token; notwithstanding which, the Duke laugh'd at his Message: whereas my Lord *Claredon* tells just the contrary, that the Duke gave him an open, tho' a very particular Audience; all his Attendance keeping at a distance, and that he held him in that earnest Discourse for an Hour.

2. *A U B R E Y* says, the Token Sir *George* gave to enforce or engage his Son's Attention, was, that he (the Duke) had a Mole in such a private Part of his Body; but my Lord says, the Token given was of such a Nature as the Duke swore none but the *Devil* and one Person in the World could know, and he was sure that one Person would not speak of it; and that the Duke was extremely disturbed when he heard of it.

N. B. F A M E, tho' with some Privacy, says, that the secret Token was an incestuous Breach of Modesty between the Duke and a certain Lady too nearly related to him, which it surprized the Duke to hear of; and that as he thought he had good Reason to be sure the Lady would not tell it of her self, so he thought none but the *Devil* would tell it besides her; and this astonished him, so that he was very far from

*receiving the Man slightly, or laughing at his
Message.*

W H A T this Apparition then was, and from whom, or from whence, remains to be decided. That the thing was real, is too well attested; it comes [sig.T8^b] loaded with so many concurring Circumstances, and told in the hearing of so many Witnesses of good Fame and Credit, that there is no Room to question the Fact; and as to the various Ways of relating it, the Truth of the whole is not abated by it at all: only as is natural to things of this Nature which passed thro' so many Hands, every one expressing themselves their own way, tho' meaning the same thing; they often vary at last in the very Substance, by only varying at first in the Circumstances.

T H E Truth of the Matter is at last, that the Apparition foretold his Ruin, and it soon follow'd. Now that this Apparition could not be the *Devil*, is evident from the Reasons laid down before in the like Cases. How can we suppose the *Devil* would be offended with the wicked Life and abominable Practices of the Duke of *Buckingham* at Court? His incestuous Lewdness, and whatever other scandalous Practices he allow'd himself in, the *Devil* might, perhaps, encourage and prompt him to, but he would never send a Messenger to him to warn him against them, and to alarm him with Apprehensions of Danger attending him if he did not reform. This is none

of the *Devil's* Business, 'tis quiet foreign to him, 'twould be the weakest thing in the World to suggest it of him.

A G A I N, if it were any thing immediately from Heaven, it would have been effectual to have awaken'd and reform'd him: But as it might be a kind Messenger from another part of the invisible World, where his approaching Fate was known, and who having given him this Notice, left his Reformation in his own Power, and laid the Necessity of it before the Eyes of Reason, as well as of his Conscience, and that after this his Fall was of himself; this makes it all rational, and easie to be understood, and is agreeable to the ordinary Custom of Providence [sig.U1^d] in like Cases, of which many Examples might be given in the World.

N O R is it strange, that the Apparition should personate the old deceased Father of the Duke, and assume his Shape, to add as it were a Solemnity to the Message, and give it a greater Influence upon the Mind of the Duke; and the same Messenger might have assumed any other Shape or Person if it had thought fit, whether living or dead.

B U T if the Shape assumed was the most likely to give Weight to the Errand it was to be sent about, we are not to wonder at all that a Spirit employ'd, or employing itself on an Errand of such Importance, should be able to

single out such Appearances, or such Shapes and Persons to appear in the Figure of, as were aptest to enforce the Message. The well-chusing the Person is to me a Testimony for, not against the Goodness, the Judgement and Capacity of the personating Spirit, and would with just reasoning confirm to us the validity of the Message, and of the Messenger also.

A N D yet 'tis very reasonable to believe, that Sir *George Villers*, thus seeming to appear, and whose Surface or Out-side is put on like a Masquerade Habit upon this Occasion, knew nothing of it, and had no manner of concern in it. Nothing is more wonderful in any part of the Story to me, than that Men of Sense and Learning, as some such have been, could be prevailed upon, or rather could prevail upon themselves, to publish to the World such incongruous, such irrational things as these; that a Man dead, perhaps twenty Years before, I think 'tis so much at least; should appear, and say, he could not rest in Peace for such and such things. And in another of the same Author's Stories, an Apparition is brought in appearing to Dr. *Tuberville's*³⁴ Sister³⁵, being a Lady who was dead, and had left some Children to her Husband, which Children were injur'd [sig.U1^b] by a second Wife, contrary to the Settlement of the first Wife's Marriage; and this Settlement of the first Marriage was it seems hid behind the Wainscot³⁶, in such and such a Place,

which no body knew of but the Children's Mother, that is to say the first Wife. This Lady appeared to discover where this Writing lay, and tells the Person to whom she discover'd it, that 'till she had made this Discovery, she had wander'd in the Air, but that now she was going to God.

S T R A N G E ! that Mr. *Glanville, Aubrey*, and others, could publish such a Story as this, without some just Enquiries to reconcile it to common Sense, as well as to Religion; as particularly how long this Lady had been Dead; for it seems to have been some Years, the Husband being married again, and the Children in danger of being wrong'd by the Children of the second Venter? Now, did the Soul of that first Lady wander all that while in the Air, to see whether there should be any occasion for her, to vindicate her Children's Right, or no? did she stay from going to God all that while, only for discovering a conceal'd Deed, that her Children might not be wrong'd? how shall we make such a thing out to be rational? what Notions of Religion or of a future State will support it?

W H Y did she not immediately discover where the Deed, or Marriage Settlement lay, and put it into the Hands of some honest People, in Trust for her Children? and then she had not need to have wander'd in the Air 'till it had been done.

T H E Y must have very low-priz'd Thoughts of Heaven, and of going to God, after the departing or separating of the Soul from the Body in Life, who think the Passage can be interrupted by any of the Affairs of this Life left unfinish'd. If even our Repentance unfinish'd, our Peace with God unfinish'd, can never be retriev'd, if Time is not to be recalled; but that *as the Tree falls, so it shall lie*³⁷: Shall we pretend the Soul shall be stopped and interrupted in its Passage, to retrieve the Injustices and Violence done to the Orphans, or Relicts of the Family? shall the Soul be brought back to find out old hidden Parchments, or as it is pretended in other like Stories, to dig up old long-buried Money, and the like?

N O, no; those things should be done in time: like Repentance, they should not be left to that Hazard; for we may depend, there is no Work, or Device, or Invention in the Grave, whither we are all going.

T H A T there are invisible Agents, which in Pursuance of the Government of Providence in the World, may be made Instruments, to act in such Cases as these; to discover Writings which being conceal'd may ruin Families, rob and plunder Orphans, and distress the right Heirs of Estates, and in many like Cases, this need not be deny'd, and is indeed not to be disputed; and 'tis a glorious Testimony to the Justice of Providence, that in such Cases he does

not abandon the Widows, and the Orphans, who for want of lost or conceal'd Deeds, are sometimes in Danger of being undone, by Violence and Rapine. But all this is easier to be understood to be done without Interruption of the ordinary Course of Things, without obstructing the Soul's Passage into its determined State of Happiness or Misery; which it must be the weakest, and indeed the wickedest thing in the World, to think can be diverted by these Trifles; and in whose direct Progression is plainly stated in the Scripture in these Words: *It is appointed unto all Men once to die, and after Death to Judgement;* or immediately after Death to Judgement, at least so as nothing to prevent or intervene; *Heb. ix. 27³⁸*. *It is appointed,* and surely [sig.U2^b] these things can never break in upon that solemn Appointment:

B E S I D E S, 'tis an evident Impeachment of the Power and Justice, as well as the Wisdom of Providence, in his Disposition of things, as if he could not find out Ways to do right to injur'd Orphans, or to detect the Injustice and Oppression of violent and unreasonable Men, but the Soul of the departed Mother must be kept out of Heaven to do it her self. Horrid Absurdity! and inconsistent with all the Notions that true Religion has inspir'd us with, relating to a Future State, and to the Gulph that is fix'd between this and that.

T H E Soul can no more be kept out from, or delay'd its Entrance into Heaven, if its Portion be appointed for Happiness, by any Concern for the Affairs of this World, than it can be disquieted after it is entered those Realms of Peace, and disturbed or brought back from thence upon any Account whatsoever.

T H E very thoughts of it are so mean, so low-rated and base, that 'tis unworthy of our Reason, but especially of our Christian reasoning Powers, to entertain to them. I take this Absurdity indeed to be much of the Cause of that Ridicule, which the wiser Part of Mankind have put upon most of the Stories which are told among us about Witchcraft and Apparitions; for that they are told with such evident Inconsistencies, that they cannot go down with rational People: Who can believe what cannot be true? who can make a serious thing of a piece of ridiculous Nonsense? That a Soul dismiss'd from Life, and going directly into Heaven, shall be call'd back by the Cry of the Children after her, with a *hold! stay Mother! come back*, and come and *tell us where the Writings are for your Joynture, or we shall be undone?* and the poor Mother, Unceas'd, Unembodied, must come back, [sig.U3^a] dismiss the Angels that were carrying her into Abraham's Bosom, and bid them come for her another time; and here she must hover about we know not how many Years, to do Right to these Children. Sure the same Power that could

thus interrupt her Passage into Heaven, might have prevented her separating from the Body, and she might with as much ease, and less injustice to her self, have been kept out of the Grave, as kept out of Heaven.

B U T I am sick of the very Repetition; the Delusion is so gross, I say it is not to be wondered that we are shock'd by it in our belief of the thing call'd Apparition in general. The ridiculous Part discredits the real Part, and it being so surfeiting to our Reason to hear the first Part, we throw off our Patience, and will hear nothing of it.

I T is true we should not do thus; the Reality of the Thing, abstracted from these distracted and enthusiastick Notions, is not lessen'd: 'tis our Business then to reject the foolish Part, which indeed has almost smother'd and buried the rest in its Dust and Rubbish, and let us judge rightly of things as they are. There is no want of Examples, where (Providence permitting) Apparition has made Discoveries of villainous and dishonest Actions and Designs; detected Violence and Murther, done Right to injur'd and oppress'd Widows, and Fatherless Children; and this without such a monstrous and inconsistent Addition, as that of bringing back the Soul from its Entrance into Heaven, or disturbing its Rest and Peace in a future State: things too gross as to be so much as nam'd among Christians, whose Faith in

things Future is too well establish'd to be capable of receiving any Impressions from such Delusions.

I H A V E an Example in Story³⁹ very particular to this Case; and which my Author assures me of the Truth of, tho' never yet publish'd in Print: The Story is told of the Late Reverend Dr. Scot⁴⁰, a [sig.U3^b] [insert plate] Man whose learning and Piety was eminent, and whose Judgement was known to be so good, as not to be easily imposed upon.

T H E Doctor, as I have the Story related, was sitting alone by the Fire, either in his Study or in his Parlour, in *Broadstreet*⁴¹ where he liv'd, and reading a Book, his Door being shut fast and lock'd; he was well assur'd there was no body in the Room but himself, when accidentally rasing his Head a little, he was exceedingly surpriz'd to see sitting in an Elbow Chair, at the other side of the Fire-place or Chimney, an Ancient grave Gentleman in a black Velvet Gown, a long Whig, and looking with a pleasing Countenance towards him (*the Doctor*) as if just going to speak.

N. B. *Another Person relating this Story, says the Ancient Gentleman appear'd standing, and having just opened the Door of the Doctor's Study, he was come in; and saluting the Doctor spoke first to him: but the Difference is but small.*

T H E Relations agree in this part, that the Doctor was greatly surpriz'd at the sight of him; and indeed the seeing him as sitting in a Chair was the most likely to be surprizing; because the Doctor knowing the Door to be lock'd, and then seeing a Man sitting in the Chair, he must immediately and at first sight conclude him to be a Spirit, or Apparition, or *Devil*, call it as you will; whereas seeing him come in at the Door, he might at first suppose him to be really a Gentleman come to speak with him, and might think he had omitted fastening the Door, as he intended to have done.

B U T be it which of the two it will, the Doctor appear'd in great disorder at the sight, as he acknowledg'd to those whom he told the Story, and from whom I receiv'd this Account, with very little remove of Hands between. [sig.U4^d]

T H E Spectre it seems began, for the Doctor had not Courage at first, as he said, to speak to it; I say the Spectre or Apparition spoke first, and desir'd the Doctor not to be frighted, not to be surpriz'd, for that he would not do him any hurt; but that he came to him upon a Matter of great Importance to an injur'd Family, which was in great danger of being Ruin'd; and that tho' he (the Doctor) was a Stranger to the Family, yet knowing him to be a Man of Integrity, he had pitch'd upon him to

do an act of very great Charity, as well as Justice; and that he could depend upon him for a punctual Performance.

T H E Doctor was not at first compos'd enough to receive the Introduction of the Business with a due attention; but seem'd rather inclin'd to get out of the Room if he could, and once or twice made some Attempt to knock for some Family to come up, at which the Apparition appear'd a little displeas'd.

B U T it seems he need not; for, as the Doctor said, he had no power to go out of the Room if he had been next the Door, or to knock for Help if any had been at hand.

B U T here the Apparition seeing the Doctor still in Confusion, desir'd him again to compose himself, for he would not do him the least Injury, or offer any thing to make him uneasie; but desir'd that he would give him leave to deliver the Business he came about, which when he had heard, perhaps he would see less cause to be surpriz'd or apprehensive than he did now.

B Y this time, and by the calm way of Discourse above mention'd, the Doctor recover'd himself so much, tho' not with any kind of Composure, as to speak.

I N the Name of God, *says the Doctor*, what art thou?
[sig.U4^b]

I D E S I R E you would not be frighted, *says the Apparition* to him again; I am a Stranger to you, and if

I tell you my Name, you do not know it; but you may do the Business without Enquiring.

T H E Doctor continu'd still discompos'd and uneasie, and said nothing for some time.

T H E Apparition spoke again to him not to be surpriz'd, and receiv'd only for Answer the same old ignorant Question,

I N the Name of God, what art thou?

U P O N this the Spectre seem'd displeas'd, as if the Doctor had not treated him with Respect; and expostulated a little with him, telling him he could have terrify'd him into a Compliance, but that he chose to come calmly and quietly to him; and used some other Discourses, so civil and obliging, that by this time he began to be a little more Familiar, and at length the Doctor ask'd,

W H A T is it you would have with me?

A T this the Apparition, as if gratify'd with the Question, began his Story thus.

I L I V'D in the Country of -----

I do not exactly remember the County he named; but it was in some of the Western Counties in England.
where I left a very good Estate, which my Grandson enjoys at this time. But he is sued for Possession by my two Nephews, the Sons of my younger Brother.

N. B. *Here he gave him his own Name, the Name of his*

*younger Brother, and the Names of his two Nephews;
but I am not allow'd to publish the Names in this
Relation, nor might it be proper for many Reasons.*

H E R E the Doctor interrupted, and ask'd him how long the Grandson had been in Possession of the Estate; which he told him was ----- Years, intimating that he had been so long dead. [sig.U5^d]

T H E N he went on, and told him, that his Nephews would be too hard for his Grandson in the Suit, and would O U T him of the Mansion-House and Estate; so that he would be in danger of being entirely ruin'd, and his Family reduc'd.

S T I L L the Doctor could not see into the Matter, or what he could do to help or remedy the Evil that threaten'd the Family; and therefore ask'd him some Questions: for now they began to be a little better acquainted than at first.

S A Y S *the Doctor*, And what am I able to do in it, if the Law be against him?

W H Y, *says the Spectre*, it is not that the Nephews have any Right; but the grand Deed of the Settlement, being the Conveyance of the Inheritance, is lost; and for want of that Deed they will not be able to make out their Title to the Estate.

W E L L, *says the Doctor*, and still what can I do in the Case?

W H Y, *says the Spectre*, if you will go down to my Grandson's House, and take such Persons with you as you can trust, I will give you such Instructions as that you shall find out the Deed or Settlement, which lies concealed in a Place where I put it with my own Hands, and where you shall direct my Grandson to take it out in your Presence.

B U T why then can you not direct your Grandson himself to do this? *says the Doctor*.

A S K me not about that, *says the Apparition*; there are divers Reasons which you may know hereafter. I can depend upon your Honesty in it, in the mean time; and I will so dispose Matters so as to have your Expenses paid you, and be handsomely allow'd for you Trouble.

A F T E R this Discourse, and several other Expostulations, (for the Doctor was not easily prevail'd upon to go 'till the Spectre seem'd to look angrily, [sig.U5^b] and even to threaten him for refusing,) he did at last Promise him to go.

H A V I N G obtain'd a Promise of him, he told him he might let his Grandson know that he had formerly convers'd with his Grandfather, (but not how lately, or in what Manner,) and ask to see the House; and that in such an upper Room or Loft, he should find a great deal of old Lumber, old Coffers, old Chests, and such Things as were out of Fashion now, thrown by, and pil'd up upon

one another, to make room for more modern Furniture, Cabinets, Chests of Drawers, and the like.

T H A T in such a particular Corner was such a certain old Chest, with an old broken Lock upon it, and a Key in it, which could neither be turn'd in the Lock, or pull'd out of it.

N. B. *Here he gave him a particular Description of the Chest, and of the Outside, the Lock and the Cover, and also of the Inside, and of a private place in it, which no Man could come to, or find out, unless the whole Chest was pull'd in Pieces.*

I N that Chest, says he, and in that place, lyes the grand Deed, or Charter of the Estate, which conveys the Inheritance, and without which the Family will be ruin'd, and turn'd out of Doors.

A F T E R this Discourse, and the Doctor promising to go down into the Country and dispatch this important Commission; the Apparition putting on a very pleasant and smiling Aspect, thank'd him, and disappear'd.

A F T E R some Days, and within the time limited by the Proposal of the Spectre, the Doctor went down accordingly to -----shire; and finding the Gentleman's House very readily, by the Direction, knock'd at the Door, and ask'd if he was at home; and after being told he was, and the Servants telling the Master it was a Clergyman, the

[sig.U6^d] Gentleman came to the Door, and very courteously invited him in.

A F T E R the Doctor had been there some time, he observ'd that the Gentleman receiv'd him with an unexpected Civility, tho' a Stranger, and without Business: They enter'd into many friendly Discourses, and the Doctor pretended to have heard much of the Family, (as, indeed, he had) and of his Grandfather; from whom, Sir, says he, I perceive the Estate more immediately descends to yourself.

A Y, says the Gentleman, and shook his Head, my Father died young, and my Grandfather has left Things so confus'd, that for want of one principle Writing, which is not yet come to Hand, I have met with a great deal of trouble from a couple of Cousins, my Grandfather's Brother's Children, who have put me to a great deal of Charge about it. And with that the Doctor seeming a little inquisitive.

B U T I hope you have got over it, Sir? says he.

N O truly, says the Gentleman, to be so open with you, we shall never get quite over it unless we can find this old Deed; which, however, I hope we shall find, for I intend to make a general Search for it.

I W I S H with all my Heart you may find it, Sir, says the Doctor.

I D O N'T doubt but I shall; I had a strange Dream about it but last Night, *says the Gentleman.*

A D R E A M about the Writing! *says the Doctor,* I hope it was that you should find it then?

I D R E A M'D, *says the Gentleman,* that a Strange Gentleman came to me, that I have never seen in my Life, and help'd me to look it. I don't know but you may be the Man.

I S H O U L D be very glad to be the Man, I am sure, *says the Doctor.* [sig.U6^b]

N A Y, *says the Gentleman,* you may be the Man to help me look it.

A Y, *says the Doctor,* I may help you look it indeed, and I'll do that too with all my Heart; but I wou'd much rather be the Man that should help you find it: Pray when do you intend to make a search?

T O - M O R R O W, *says the Gentleman,* I had appointed to do it.

B U T, *says the Doctor,* in what manner do you intend to search?

W H Y, *says the Gentleman,* 'tis all our Opinions that our Grandfather was so very much concern'd to preserve this Writing, and had so much Jealousy that some were about him would take it from them if they could, that he has hid it in some secret Place; and I'm resolv'd I'll

pull half the House down but I'll find it, if it be above Ground.

T R U L Y, *says the Doctor*, he may have hid it so, that you must pull the House down before you find it, and perhaps not then either. I have known such things utterly lost, by the very Care taken to preserve them.

I F it was made of something the Fire wou'd not destroy, *says the Gentleman*, I'd burn the House down but I'd find it.

I S U P P O S E you have search'd all the old Gentleman's Chests, and Trunks, and Coffers over and over? *says the Doctor*.

A Y, *says the Gentleman*, and turn'd them all inside outward, and there they lie of a heap up in a great Loft, or Garret, with nothing in them; nay, we knock'd three or four of them in Pieces to search for private Drawers, and then I burnt them for Anger, tho' they were fine old Cypress Chests, that cost Money enough when they were in Fashion.

I'M sorry you burnt them, *says the Doctor*. [sig.U7^a]

N A Y, *says the Gentleman*, I did not burn a scrap of them 'till they were all split to Pieces; and it was not possible there cou'd be any thing there.

N. B. *This made the Doctor a little easy; for he began to be surpriz'd when he told him he had split some of them out, and burnt them.*

W E L L, Sir, *says the Doctor*, if I can do you any Service in your Search, I'll come and see you again to-morrow, and wait upon your Search with my good Wishes.

N A Y, *says the Gentleman*, I don't design to part with you; since you are so kind to offer me your Help, you shall stay all Night then, and be at the first of it.

T H E Doctor had now gain'd his Part so far as to make himself acquainted and desirable in the House, and to have a kind of Intimacy; so that tho' he made as if he would go, he did not want much Entreaties to make him stay; so he consented to lie in the House all Night.

A L I T T L E before Evening the Gentleman ask'd him to take a Walk in his Park, but he put it off with a Jest; I had rather, Sir, *said he smiling*, you'd let me see this fine old Mansion House that is to be demolish'd to-morrow; methinks I'd fain see the House once, before you pull it down.

W I T H all my Heart, *says the Gentleman*. So he carry'd him immediately up the Stairs, shew'd him all the best Apartments, and all his fine Furniture and Pictures; and coming to the Head of the great Stair-Case where they came up, offer'd to go down again.

B U T, *says the Doctor*, shall we not go up higher?

T H E R E'S nothing there, *says he*, but Garrets and old Lofts full of Rubbish, and a Place to go out into the Turret, and the Clock-house. [sig.U7^b]

O, L E T me see it all, now we are a going, *says the Doctor*. I love to see the old lofty Towers and Turrets, the Magnificence of our Ancestors, tho' they are out of Fashion now; Pray let us see all, now we are going.

W H Y, it will tire you, *says the Gentleman*.

N O, no, *says the Doctor*, if it don't tire you that have seen it so often, it won't tire me, I assure you: Pray let us go up. So away the Gentleman goes, and the Doctor after him.

A F T E R they had rambled over the wild Part of an old-built great House, which I need not describe, he passes by a great Room, the Door of which was open, and in it a great deal of old Lumber: And what Place is this, pray? *says the Doctor*, looking in at the Door, but not offering to go in.

O! T H A T'S the Room, *says the Gentleman softly*, because there was a Servant attending them, that's the Room I told you of, where all the old Rubbish lay, the Chests, the Coffers, and the Trunks; look there, see how they are pil'd up upon one another almost to the Ceiling.

W I T H this the Doctor goes in and looks about him; for this was the Place he was directed to, and which he wanted to see: He was not in the Room two Minutes but he found every thing just as the Spectre in *London* had describ'd, went directly to the Pile he had been told of, and fixes his Eye upon the very Chest with the old rusty

Lock upon it, with the Key in it, which would neither turn round, nor come out.

O N my Word, Sir, *says the Doctor*, you have taken Pains enough, if you have rummag'd all these Drawers, and Chests, and Coffers, and every thing that may have been in them.

I N D E E D, Sir, *says the Gentleman*, I have emptied every one of them myself, and look'd over all the [sig.U8^a] old musty Writings one by one; with some help, indeed; but they, every one, past thro' my own Hand, and under my Eye.

W E L L, Sir, *says the Doctor*, I see you have been in earnest, and I find the thing is of great Consequence to you: I have a strange Fancy come into my Head this very Moment; will you gratify my Curiosity with but opening and emptying one small Chest or Coffer that I have cast my Eye upon? there may be nothing in it, for you are satisfy'd, I believe, that I was never here before; but I have a strange Notion that there are some private Places in it which you have not found; perhaps there may be nothing in them, when they are found.

T H E Gentleman looks at the Chest smiling, I remember opening it very well; and turning to his Servant, *Will*, says he, don't you remember that Chest? Yes, Sir, *says Will*, very well, I remember you were so weary you sat down upon the Chest when every thing was out of it, you

clap'd down the Lid and sat down, and sent me to my Lady to bring you a Dram of Citron; you said you were so tir'd you was ready to faint.

W E L L, Sir, 'twas only a Fancy of mine, and very likely to have nothing in it.

'T I S no matter in that, *says the Gentleman*, you shall see it turn'd bottom up again before your Face, and so you shall all the rest, if you do but speak the Word.

W E L L, Sir, *says the Doctor*, if you will oblige me but with that one, I'll trouble you no farther.

I M M E D I A T E L Y the Gentleman causes the Coffe to be drag'd out, and open'd; for it would not be lock'd, the Key would neither lock it nor unlock it: when the Papers where all out, the Doctor turning his Face another way, as if he would [sig.U8^b] look among the Papers, but taking little or no Notice of the Chest, stoop'd down, and as if supporting himself with his Cane, chops his Cane into the Chest, but snatch'd it out again hastily, as if it had been a Mistake, and turning to the Chest he claps the Lid of it down, as if he was a weary too.

H O W E V E R he takes an Opportunity to speak to the Gentleman softly, to send away his Man a Moment; for I would speak a Word or two with you, Sir, *says he*, out of his hearing; and then recollecting himself, Sir, *says he aloud*, can you not send for a Hammer and a Chisel?

Y E S, Sir, *says the Gentleman*. Go, Will, *says he to his Man*, fetch a Hammer and Chisel.

A S soon as Will was gone, Now, Sir, *says he*, let me say a bold Word to you; I have found your Writing; I have found your Grand Deed of Settlement; I'll lay you a hundred Guineas I have it in this Coffe?

T H E Gentleman takes up the Lid again, handles the Chest, looks over every Part of it, but could see nothing; he is confounded and amaz'd! What d'ye mean? *says he to the Doctor*, you have no unusual Art I hope, no Conjuring in hand; here's nothing but an empty Coffe?

N O T I upon my Word, *says the Doctor*, I am no Magician, no Cunning-Man, I abhor it; but I tell you again the Writing is in this Coffe.

T H E Gentleman knocks, and calls as if he was frighted, for his Man with the Hammer, but the Doctor sat compos'd again upon the Lid of the Coffe.

A T last up comes the Man with the Hammer and Chisel, and the Doctor goes to work with the Chest, knocks upon the flat of the Bottom; *Hark!* *says he*, *don't you hear it, Sir*, *says he*, *don't you hear it plainly?* [sig.X1^d]

H E A R what? *says the Gentleman*. I don't understand you, indeed.

W H Y the Chest has a double Bottom, Sir, a false Bottom, *says the Doctor*; don't you hear it sound hollow?

I N a Word, they immediately split the inner Bottom open, and there lay the Parchment spread abroad flat on the whole breadth on the Bottom of the Trunk, as a Quire of Paper is laid on the flat of the Drawer.

I T is impossible for me to describe the Joy and Surprise of the Gentleman, and soon after of the whole Family; for the Gentleman sent for his Lady, and two of his Daughters, up into the Garret among the Rubbish, to see not the Writing only, but the Place where it was found, and the Manner how.

You may easily suppose the Doctor was caress'd with uncommon Civilities in the Family, and sent up (after about a Week's stay) in the Gentleman's own Coach to *London*. I do not remember whether he disclos'd the Secret to the Gentleman, or no; I mean the Secret of the Apparition, by which the Place where the Writing was to be found, was discover'd to him, and who oblig'd him to come down on purpose to find it: I say, I do not remember that Part, neither is it material. As far as I had the Story related, so far I have handed it forward; and I have the truth of it affirmed in such a manner, as I cannot doubt it.

N O W to observe a little upon this Passage, which I am oblig'd to say is reported to me for Truth, and I firmly believe it to be so: Certain it is, that finding this Writing was of the utmost Importance to the Family; and

tho' I am not indeed inclin'd to publish Names to the Story, or to examine into the Particulars, by discoursing with the Persons, for some may be yet Living, yet I say the Esta- [sig.Xl^b] blishment of not a Family only, but a Generation of Families, might depend upon this Writing, and that no doubt made the ancient Gentleman lay it up so safe. But why then might not Providence permit, nay even direct one of those Intelligent Spirits or Angels, mention'd above, to give this Notice, and in this manner, where the main and only Deed or Charter for the Inheritance was to be found? as well as it has upon many like Occasion, or in Cases alike in their Importance, made strange and unaccountable Discoveries of Things hid for many Ages; and this without Apparition, but a manifest concurrence of Causes and Accidents next to Miracles.

I C A N N O T think but that Providence, whose Concern for the good and safety of his Creatures is so Universal, and who it must be acknowledg'd is not unconcern'd even in the minutest Circumstances, may think meet to bring such a thing as this to Light, upon which the good and welfare of a whole Family did so much depend; and even to appear in an extraordinary Manner in it, without any Impeachment of its Wisdom or Power; and if the same Providence that thought fit to save this Family from so much Injustice as at that time threaten'd it, thought fit

to do it, by the Agency of a Spirit coming in Apparition to a third Person, so to bring it about as in the ordinary Method, what have we to do to dispute the manner? or what Objection lies against it?

U P O N the whole, here's no *Devil* here, no imaginary Phantoms in the Air, no Voices and Noises delusive and imposing upon the Fancy one way or other; no Soul appearing, and pretending it cannot be at rest; and yet here is an Apparition directing to find out what was in Being, and was to be found, and what Justice required should be produc'd. [sig.X2^d]

N O R could this be the *Devil*: that wicked Agent goes up and down upon a much worse Employment. He is busy enough, that's true; but 'tis wid'ning breaches in Families, not healing them; in prompting Mischief, not preventing it; tempting Man to Robbery, to Whoredom, to Murther; not moving them to repent. As is the Errand, such is the Messenger; as is the Work, such is the Labourer; and the way of judging is as just as it is certain, 'tis easy and plain, we cannot fail to know who and who's together.

'T I S the same in our most retir'd Thoughts; we may very well know who talks to us, by the Discourse, who tempts us, by the Mischief he tempts to. My good, wicked, pious, hellish Friend and old Acquaintance Z-----
G-----⁴³ must never tell me, that he does not know by

whose Direction he transacts, and who he converses with, when he is bid break Oaths and Promises under the cover of Conscience; when he assaults Innocence by Clamour, and levies War by Slander, against Reputation and Virtue on pretence of Zeal to Truth; blacking Characters in pretence of giving the Innocent Person opportunity to clear himself; I say he must not do this without knowing from whence he derives the extraordinary Motion to it, what Spirit prompts, and from whose dictates he take the Direction.

W H E N he daubs on purpose to wash, and sullies with the intention to clean the Faces of his Innocent Neighbours, he knows as well as I, he is actuated from Hell, and agitated *ab Inferis*; because he knows that all Hypocrisy is from the Devil; and as he knows himself to be a most accomplish'd Cheat, even from the outside of his Face to the inside of his Soul, he may sing after my Lord of *Rochester* in his Sarcasm upon a much honeste Man⁴⁴, [sig.X2^b]

*He said, O Lord, O Lord of Hosts,
I am Ra-----l, that thou knowest.*

'T I S a strange Hypothesis, that a late Visionist in those pieces of secret History attack'd me with t'other Day, viz. That he would undertake to prove from the late

Reverend and Learned (but to himself unintelligible) *Jacob Behemen*⁴⁴, that a Man's Soul was capable of comprehending G O D, *Futurity*, *Eternity*, and all occult and retir'd things of the utmost importance, but it self; but that, for divers wise Reasons, the light of self-knowledge was hid from his Eyes; except by immediate Revelation; which immediate Revelation Friend *Jacob* pretended to have attained, only with this unhappy disaster attending it, viz. That he could never express himself, no not to his own Understanding; so that indeed he understood this only, namely, that he could not understand what he did understand.

N O W to leave Friend *Jacob* to his own Quibbles, and to his three and twenty Parenthesis, like a nest of Boxes one within another, and never to be prolated; 'tis my Opinion, that if Mankind will be faithful to themselves, they amy always know themselves; that Friend ----- G-----⁴⁵ not only always has the Devil in him, but always knows it; as it is certain, that he that wilfully *Lyes* and *Cheats* always knows that he *Lyes* and *Cheats*; so it is impossible T--- E---⁴⁶ should be a complete Rogue, and not know it; he may be indeed not able to know how much a Rogue he is, 'till the Devil and he have drawn out the Thread to its full length, and tried him effectually, search'd him to the bottom, and seen whether he will stop at any thing or no; and what the wicked thing can be that

is too gross for him. But he cannot be [sig.X3^d] ignorant of himself in the main; he cannot be so blind to his own Inside, as not to know he is an Original Knave; that he has broken in upon Principles, betray'd Trust, cheated Orphans, abus'd Widows, sold Friendship; and a thousand such things as these already; and that he has nothing for it, but to put as good an Outside upon it as he can, to have the Face of an honest Man upon the Heart of a Hypocrite, and to be sure to be a Cheat to the World, to the end of the Chapter.

I N D E E D it might not have been improper to have represented those two worthy Gentlemen as Apparitions, for that they are such is a most improving Truth, and what it may be much for the Service of the World to have publicly known: But as we are now speaking of Apparitions which represent Men and things as they really are, it seems first needful to bring their insides to be their outsides, and then the World will know them by their shadows as well as by their substance; and for this I doubt we must wait a while, the Issue of Assizes⁴⁷ or two; for certainly, if Justice takes place, they may both be heard of at the Gallows.

B U T to bring it home to the present purpose, I insist that no Man can be deceiv'd in himself; he may know whether he is a Knave or an honest Man, whether he is a Substance, or an Apparition, whether he be a Reality or

a Shadow; and that *Jacob Behemen* advanc'd only a Delusion proper for a Knave, pretending that a Man might be honest when he believ'd himself to be a Knave, and be a Knave when he thought himself honest.

B U T to return to the Affair of the Writing found in the Chest, and which, according to the Notion which some have of these things, the Soul of the ancient Gentleman above came in Apparition to discover; our Question is first How did he come to know in his determin'd State, his State of Soul- [sig.X3^b] Existence, be that where it would, I say, How did he come to know, that the Writing was not discover'd, and that his Grandson was in danger of coming to any injury about it? How did he know that the Law-Suit was commenc'd, the thing prosecuted so far, and the damage like to be suffer'd so very much?

H E might know where it was, if not found; because he hid it there, because he laid it up with so much care; but he could not know what Circumstance had been attending the case since that time, what proceedings had been at Law, and how things stood with the Family; if he could, then the Text quoted before out of *Job* cannot be true, that *the Son riseth and falleth, and the Father knoweth it not*⁴⁸.

'T I S observable that this Apparition, which came to Doctor *Scot*, did not allege that he could not rest 'till this matter was discover'd; he seem'd concern'd that the

Family would be uneasy, and that they were so; and that there was great danger, they might lose the Estate; but did not pretend he could not rest in Peace, or as the other, that he could not go to Heaven 'till it was discover'd.

I C A N N O T but wonder a little at the Ignorance of the Ancients, in that Notion of the Soul's wandring in the Air all the while the Body was without a Funeral Obsequy; for according to their Doctrine, those Souls who had no such Funeral Pyre prepared for them, must have been wandring in the Air to this Day, and will be so for ever; not being able to get admittance either in one place or other.

N O wonder the Air is said to be fill'd with wandring Spirits, with Dæmons and Ghosts, as some are of the Opinion it is; for where must all the Millions of Spirits be gone, who have lain without Burial, or been cast into the Sea, or been [sig.X4^d] overwhelm'd with Earthquakes and Storms, or died by Plagues, where the living have not been sufficient to bury the dead? and the like in many publick Calamities.

I K N O W the *Roman* Catholics have a way of preforming a Service for the dead⁴⁹ by Thousands; and in particular for the Souls of the dead, slain in such and such a Battel: whether that has any relation to this old Pagan Notion, or not, I will not say. I know Popery has pretty

much of the Pagan in their Original, I mean of their Worship; but will saying one Service for the dead answer the End, whether they have any Burial or no, and tho' their Bodies are left, as *Achilles* says of *Hector*, for greedy or hungry Dogs to rend⁵⁰? This they do not answer, and I doubt cannot; so that perhaps all those Souls kill'd in fight are wandring still in the Air, and cannot have admittance, no not to the Shades below.

O N the other hand, if the poor Soldiers believ'd, that if they were kill'd in fight, they were to wander for ever, and not be pray'd out of Purgatory; nay, not be admitted into it; few of them but would chuse to be hang'd, provided they might be admitted to be bury'd under the Gallows, rather than go to the War and die in the Bed of Honour.

T H E Y tell us (who pretend to know) that the Corps of the deceas'd Princes of *France*, as well Kings as Princes of the Blood, are not buried, but deposited in the Abbey of St. *Dennis* near *Paris*, 'till the immediate Successor is Dead; and that then the Predecessor is buried, and the next is deposited; so that there is always one kept above the Ground.

I D O not take upon me to determine the Matter, or to say whether it is really so or not: But if so, and it should be as in the case of *Patroclus*, that those Heroes are then to be out of the happy Re- [sig.X4^b] gions, I

must say their Kings are but little beholden to that Custom, and Lewis XIII⁵¹ had a hard time of it, to have his Son hold it 70 Years, and keep him all the while even out of Purgatory; and how long he has to stay there, who knows? but 'tis certain, he might have been 40 or 50 Years onward of his way by this time, if he had not been so many Years unburied.

B U T enough of this Pagan and Popish Frippery: our business is to talk to the more rational World; their Fate is before them; all Men die, and after Death to Judgment, nothing can interrupt it, and what their Sons do or suffer behind them they know not.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Consequence of this Doctrine; and seeing that Apparitions are real, and may be expected upon many Occasions, and that we are sure they are not the Souls of our departed Friends; how we are to act, and how to behave to them, and when they come among us, and when they pretend to be such and such, and speak in the first Person of those departed Friends, as if they were really themselves?

H A V I N G thus settled the main point, and determin'd what Apparition is not; namely, not an Angel immediately from Heaven; not a return'd unembodied Soul; and having advanc'd, in Essay at least, what we are to suppose them to be; namely, a good or evil Spirit from the Invisible World; and having settled the Rule of judging whether of [sig.X5^d] the two, whether a good or an evil, according to the apparent good or evil or their Design; it is time now to bring the matter into Practice; to settle the grand Preliminary, and determine, since this is their Behaviour to us, how we are to behave to them.

N O R is this a needless Enquiry, for we find the World at a great loss on such Occasions. Men are exceedingly terrified and discorded upon the very Apprehensions of seeing any thing as *they call it* from the Invisible World; even the great King *Belshazzar*, tho' in the midst of his whole Court, the Lords of 12⁷ Provinces, a full Assembly of Ladies and Courtiers; yet when he saw but a piece of an Apparition, (for it was but one Hand) yet *his Countenance chang'd, and the joynts of his Knees were loosed, and his Knees smote one against another*, Dan.

v. 6¹. Charles VIII of France² was not frighted only, but frighted out of his Wits, with an Apparition in the Forest of *Mans*, and never recover'd his Senses any more; and we have several instances in Story, of Men, even of the greatest Resolution, who have lost all their Courage,

and all their Resolution, when they have had but a short Visit of this kind, 'tho without receiving any injury from them.

B U T whence is it, that the Mind is thus surpriz'd? why is our Aversion so great to any Appearance from the other World, without so much as enquiring into the Particulars?

T H E R E are many Reasons indeed to be assign'd to prove why *it is so*; but not one good Reason that I know of to prove *it should be so*, or that we have any Occasion to be so alarm'd or disturb'd at these Appearances; I mean, when the Mind has any degree of Composure: It is true, they come from an Invisible Place, and that is one of the Reasons of our fright; because, as we say, we know not [sig.X5^b] whence they are, of what Errand they come, with what Commission, and with what Power to execute that Commission; all these uncertainties bring a Terror upon the Spirits; the Soul receives a Shock; the Man is like one of those poor People where they are in an Earthquake, they see the Buildings totter and fall before them, and tho' they are not bury'd in the Ruins, but are perhaps escap'd out into the Fields; yet they feel the Earth roll and move under them, and they are doubtful and apprehensive lest they may be swallowed up every Moment; and, according to the old Poet, it is a Matter of real Terror;

*" Fear chills the Heart, what Heart can Fear dissemble,
" When Steeples stagger, and when Mountains tremble³?*

T H I S uncertainty of the Mind in the case of Apparitions, is the real ground of Fear; (*viz.*) that we know not

W H E N C E their Errand comes,

W H A T Commission they have,

W H A T Power to execute the Commission.

F I R S T, WE don't know whence they are, and from whom their Errand, nor indeed can we be easie in the uncertainty: The reason is, there is a secret doubt of the Mind, founded upon Guilt: Here the Atheist bauks his assurance, and tho' he pretends to believe neither God or *Devil*, staggers at a Messenger that comes for ought he knows from one or both of them, to convince him by immediate demonstration. Here his Heart fails him, he turns pale, starts at the sight, and would be glad to be assur'd there were really both, that one might protect him from the other.

W H I L E he knows not whether the Message comes from Heaven or Hell, whether the Messen- [sigX6³] ger may be Angel or *Devil*, the uncertainty attended with the real Danger of the worst, leaves him in Horror, and he fears Hell because he knows he has provok'd Heaven, he fears

the *Devil* because he knows he that can command the *Devil* is his Enemy.

I N a Word, a sense of God make men afraid of the *Devil*, as they say fear of the *Devil* gives a sense of Homage to God.

S E C O N D L Y, W E tremble at the Messenger, because we don't know what his Message may be; we dread the Officer, because we dread his Commission; we are afraid of what he has to say; we know we have no reason to expect good News from the place, which we suppose he comes from, and therefore we turn pale at his coming, nor is it possible to be otherwise.

T H E R E are but two Principles that fortifie the Mind against the Fears of a future State, no not that seemingly fortifie it; and these are,

1. I N N O C E N C E, or a good Heart founded in Religion, Virtue, and an exact rectitude of behaviour.
O R,

2. I M P U D E N C E, a harden'd shutting the Eyes against Conviction, and the Ears against Conscience.

I T is with some Perplexity that I found my self oblig'd to give a Character in another place of a fam'd Man of pretended Brightness and Wit: He was always merry, a constant Smile sat upon his Countenance, a perfect easieness possess'd his Mind, he knew not a Moment of Melancholy or Chagrin. He never sigh'd, because he

seldom pray'd or griev'd; I wish I could have said, because he never sinn'd. His Heart was light as his Head; and as for his Heels, he always walk'd in Minuit and Rigadoons. His Mirth was as uninterrupted as his Breath, and he laugh'd by the Consequence of Re-[sig.X6^b] piration; his Voice was a natural Music, and his Rhetoric was all Sonnet and Solsa's.

S U R E, said I, my Cousin M----- D-----⁴ must have the clearest Conscience in the Universe, he was has not the least Scar upon his Inside; and if he was to see the Devil, he could not change Colour, or have the least Hesitation at the most frightful Appearance: He must be all Innocence and Virtue.

*Did the least Spot upon his Soul appear,
It could not be: his Conscience must be clear:
For where there's Guilt, there's always Fear⁵.*

B U T I mistook my Kinsman most extremely, for on the contrary, his Soul is blacker than *Negro Sancho⁶*, the Beauty of *Africa*; he boasts himself of the most harden'd Crime, defies Heaven, despises Terror, and is got above Fear by the meer force of a flagrant Assurance.

H E would no more value seeing the Devil in his most fiery formidable Appearance, than he would see a storm of Fire in *the Tempest⁷*, or a Harlequin Diabole in *Fresco⁸*;

if you will take his Character from himself, he has no more fear about him, than he has Conscience, and that's so little, 'tis not worth naming. He knows no Sorrow, no Chagrin; he was born Laughing, and intends to die Jestin^g: and what is all this founded upon? not glorious Innocence mention'd above, but notorious Impudence.

I T ' S true indeed, I had not car'd to speak so grosly of one of my near Relations, but he will have it be so; he speaks of it himself, bids me take notice of it, that 'tis the Character he gives me of himself, and d-----s me with a full Stream of *Bilinsgate*⁹, if I dare give any other Character of him than what he gives of himself.

I M U S T acknowledge I did believe the *Devil* and my Cousin were not so much at Strife, that he did [sig.X7^d] not fear the old Dragon, because he had never done any thing to disoblige him; but it seems the Case differs, and he defies the *Devil* purely on the same foot that he defies him that made the *Devil*; and acts the Fury meerly as a Fury, not as a Man of Sense or as a Man of Courage.

A L L that I have to say to this, is, that this will last just 'till the Rage is abated, and no longer; 'till the Blood cools, and the Spirits return to their natural Course, and then the Wretch will be as cold as now he is hot, as calm as he is outrageous, and as base and low-spirited as now he is fiery and furious.

A L L the hot-headed Courage of these Men, is only a Flash, a Meteor in the Air; when they are cool'd, when the Exhalation is spent, they are as phlegmatic as other People; and then they look pale, the Countenance changes, and the Knees knock one against the another, as well as other People's.

T H E R E'S not scorning the Terrors of a Messenger from another World, but by a settled established Composure of the Soul; founded on the Basis of Peace within, Peace of Conscience, Peace and Innocence, or Peace and Penitence, which is effect all one: This is the only Face that a Man can hold up to the *Devil*; with a clean Heart, he may boldly see the *Devil*, talk to him, despise him, and tell him he scorns him, for that he has nothing at all to do with him.

B U T this is not to our present Condition; few People wear this Armour in our days; they neither value it or know the use of it, and therefore 'tis that we are so full of Terror and Disturbance when we see the *Devil*; at least if we think he has anything to say to us.

B U T now for the great Question, Why it should be so? as I said, 'tis Truth too evident that it is so, [sig.X7^b] but it say that it *should be so*, that requires another kind of Sophistry to make out.

I T is true, it requires a great deal of Courage, and of cool Courage too, in bearing up the Soul against the

Surprize of such things as these; a Man must be able to talk to the *Devil* in a Dialect which he (*Satan*) himself does not very well understand, to bid him be gone, to bid him *Get thee behind me*¹⁰, and the like; 'tis an authoritative way of talking that every one cannot support; and if the *Devil* is sensible of it, he will not fail to exert himself to the utmost, to maintain the Right which he seems to enjoy, and keep the Hold he has gotten; for he knows how ill his Cause is to be defended by Justice and Reason, and if he should answer as he did to the Sons of *Sceva* the Jew¹¹, what then if you should say to him, in the vulgar and ignorant Dialect of speaking to Spirits, In the Name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghost*, Who art thou? or, I charge thee in the Name of the *Father*, &c. to be gone, and disturb me no more.

I S A Y, if the *Devil* should answer, The *Father* I know, and the *Son* I know, and the *Holy Ghost* I know, but who are you, you that pretend to use their Names thus? What would you say to your self?

N O W that we know how to answer the *Devil*, as well as how to speak to him, (for both are very necessary) let me enter into the State of the Case a little, between the *Devil* and us; nay, between all the Inhabitants of the invisible World, and their Friends in this, let them be who, or of what kind they will.

F I R S T, In order to be free from the Surprise of these things, you must endeavour to establish your Mind in the right understanding of the thing call'd Apparition; that you may reason your self into a sufficient Firmness, and Steadiness of Soul [sig.X8^d] against all the whimsical and imaginary Part of it.

L E T us think of things as they are, not as they are only imagined, and suppose to be; for 'tis the Reality of the thing, not the Shadow, that can fright and disorder us, that is to say, that can have any just Reason to do so.

F O R want of this we are often scared and terrify'd with Dreams and Visions, even when we are awake, and when really there is no such thing in Substance or Reality as any Vision or Apparition, other than Apparition throws in upon us, and other than our bewitched Imagination represents to us.

I T is absolutely necessary, if you would not always be looking over your Shoulders, and always forming Spectre to you Fancy: I say, 'tis necessary to have a right Notion of Apparition in general; to know what it is, and what it must be, whence it comes, and what the utmost of its Commission can be; that you may think your self into a true and clear Understanding of it, and then your Fears about it will be regulated after another manner. For Example:

1. E S T A B L I S H your Mind in this particular and fundamental Article, that whatever appears it must be either a *good Spirit* from the invisible World, an Agent of Mercy, a Messenger of Peace, and consequently *will do* you no Hurt: O R,

2. A N *evil Spirit*, an Agent of Hell from Satan's Region and Empire, the Air; and that so whatever evil Design or evil Message he pretends to come about, and however mischievous his Intention is, he *cannot* do the Hurt he desires, because that as good Spirits are under Direction, so the bad are under Limitation; the one *will not*, and the other *cannot* hurt you, without an immediate Command from above. The Fear therefore [sig.X8^b] which we have upon us concerning Apparition, is not or ought not to be guided by their Appearance, but by the rectitude of our own Thoughts; and as we are or are not quiet and calm within, so we shall or shall not be under Apprehensions from without.

F O R T I F Y your Minds then with a steady Confidence in the Supreme Maker and Governour of all things, who has the great red Dragon in a Chain; and when you think you see the *Devil*, fear nothing, for He will never let loose the Destroyer upon any one whose Mind is steadily fix'd upon himself.

T H I S is a critical, and perhaps too curious Piece of Practice for me to meddle with, especially here, and must

be but gently touch'd at; you will, it may be, object too against the Doctrine of it, and say, Who can so effectually trust in God, as not to be at all afraid of the *Devil*? Now, tho' this may seem true upon many Accounts, and, as Times go with us, may be really a just Objection, yet, if we will believe History or Experience, it is not so much a Difficulty as to say Who can do it? for it has been done.

I R E M E M B E R the known and famous Story¹² of a Maid under a real and personal Possession of the *Devil*, at *Little Gadsden*¹³ in *Hertfordshire*¹⁴, tho' by an unhappy Disappointment I was not present, and not knowing of the thing time enough; yet I saw and convers'd with several that were present and heard the *Devil* speak in the Maid and by the Organ of her Voice, tho' without any apparent Motion of her Tongue or Lips, or any Part of her Mouth.

O F this Person it was positively true, that there was a certain good Man, tho' a Lay Christian, who so frequently pray'd with the poor Demoniac, being a Neighbour of her Father's, and so constantly talk'd to the *Devil*, and batter'd [sig.Y1^a] him with Scripture, that he was, as I might say, the *Devil's* Terror, and he would not let the Girl go to any House or into any Room where this Man (whose Name was *Monks*¹⁵) was; and if she was directed to any Place he would stop her, as if he was

to go and see first if Mr. *Monks* was there or not, and then he would bid her go, for *Monks* was not there.

N O W, as I am well assured of the Truth both of the Girl's being possessed, really actuated by a *Devil* in her, and of this *Devil* being afraid of Mr. *Monks*; then the Question above is so far directly answer'd, that it is possible to arrive to such a State, as not only to be afraid of the *Devil*, but even to make the *Devil* afraid of us. I confess it would be a State of Felicity that would make Life very easie to us upon many Accounts; and I could enlarge very pleasantly (to my self) upon that Subject. But as things go with the World, I question much whether it would be so pleasant to those I am writing to, and therefore I leave it: and so if I have been preaching a little, it is so little in length, and I hope so much to the purpose, that you may forgive me once, especially upon Promise of saying as little for your Good for the time to come, as I can.

T H E R E is indeed a right worthy and commendable State of Indifference, not only as to Who shall or shall not visit us from the invisible World, and from what Part of it they come; but as to what Station we are to have among them hereafter; and this happy Temper is much recommended to me by some of my fashionable Friends, as a most desirable Condition of Life: to be perfectly easy,

void of Anxiety and Perplexities of any kind, and forming the most perfect Composure of Soul that can be imagined.

T H E Y describe this the most accurately indeed by the Practice, for they say most feelingly, that [sig.Y1^b] no Tongue can express the Felicity of it; which indeed I believe is very true; they are perfectly easy about, because thoughtless of, that dull remote thing called Futurity. As for their being a State of Life, or a Something like Life after Death, they can't say but it may be so, for they never enquired much into the Principles of the *Saduces*, or into any other Principles about it. But what the State is to be, or what we are to be, or not to be, in it, they never trouble themselves about it; they look upon it as a thing remote, which People are not agreed about, and they believe never will, 'till they come there; and to be beating their Heads and perplexing their Thoughts, about what, when they have done all, they are sure they shall never arrive to a Certainty about, they do not see 'tis to the Purpose at all.

T H I S is certainly a mighty brief Way with their Doubts, and a short answer to all Enquiries; and I must own 'tis putting a short end to all Disputes with themselves, about the thing called a *future State*.

B U T there remains a Question still unanswer'd, and which is a Question of moment with me, whatever it may be

with them, viz. Where is the Felicity of this kind of Calm?

O, says a Deist of my Acquaintance¹⁶, Peace of Mind is Felicity, I hope.

Yes, I said, if it be built upon a right Foundation.

Nay, says he, Peace is Peace; don't tell me of Foundations.

Hold Friend, said I, even Molinos¹⁷ himself the Author of the *Quietisme*¹⁸, which one Author well calls *Softisme*¹⁹, and of the Sect of the *Quietists*²⁰, and who resolve all Felicity and all Religion into the Calm of a retired Soul, yet fix'd that Calm upon the Meditations of an upright Mind, and the Calm of a clear Heart. [sig.Y2^a]

I V A L U E none of your Sects, says my Friend. Gallio was a true Politician and a happy Man, Acts xviii. 17. He cared for none of these things; and there was his Happiness.

S O a Madman, says I, is happy in his Lunacy, and enjoys a thoughtless Calm, all the while he is in the greatest Hurry and Disorder of his Soul. I say, there's no Calm in Distraction.

W E L L, but I am calm, says he, and yet I am not distracted.

I D O N'T know that, said I, I doubt the Fact.

W E L L, if I am mad, I don't know it, says he, and, as I said before, that's a Happiness to me.

A H A P P I N E S S in Misery, *said I*; and such is all the Peace that such a Temper can give.

B U T why is it not a sufficient Felicity, *says he*, to be calm and quiet?

B E C A U S E, *said I*, a Mind insensible and unmoved in Dangers of the greatest Importance, is not consistent with the Condition it self, or with Prudence and Reason, under that Condition.

H O W is it not consistent, *says my Friend*.

W H Y, for Example; suppose, *says I*, a Man in the upper Rooms of a House, when all the lower Part was on Fire; the Stair-case and all Retreats cut off, except throwing himself out of the Window, if this Man sat smoking his Pipe, or singing a Song, or reading a Play, would not you say he was demented and mad?

B U T how are the Cases parallel? *says he*.

E X A C T L Y, *said I*, they agree in every Part of this; that he is certain the Fire is under him, and you don't know but it may be so, and don't think it worth while to enquire: and to make it chime in that Part too, you may suppose the Man ignorant too, only that People call to him, and tell him the House is on Fire, and he does not so much as rise off his Seat to go to the Stair-head and see [sig.Y2^b] whether it be so or no; tho' he hears them, and tells them he hears them, he bids them not trouble their Heads about him, 'tis time enough when

he feels it; and the next Moment the Floor falls under him, and soon after the Roof falls in over him, and so he is burnt to death.

W H A T do you infer from this? says he.

I E N Q U I R E, said I, whether that Indolence and Unconcernedness be consistent with common Sense, and if a wise Man would do so?

S U P P O S E I grant it? says he.

S O, says I, you must grant that an Indifference about what shall be our Share of that State which is beyond us, Whether the bright or the dark, is inconsistent with common Sense, and that no wise Man can act so.

H E R E my Friend and I ended, for instead of being touch'd with it, he talk'd prophanely, and then I always think 'tis time to leave off talking at all; for when Men give up their Reason to Atheism, and their Sense of G O D to Blasphemy, who shall labour to wash that *Ethiop*²¹?

I T is the same in the Case before me; here is an Apparition, or suppose it; the Man that sees it is utterly unconcerned about it; he cares not one Farthing whether it comes from above or from below, whether it be an Angel or a Devil, a Messenger from Hell or from Heaven; and so this Man is not afraid of it, but boldly goes up to it, and like a Soldier cries, Who are you for? Whence come you? What have you to say to me? And it may

he gives it for Answer, Very well, go about your Business then, I have nothing to say to you. And this sort of Courage, as he calls it, this unconcerned Bravery, he recommends as the best way to deal with these Spirits.

B U T suppose the *Devil* won't be put off so, but says, I'll come and Visit you to-morrow in another [sig.Y3^d] Dress; I'll try your Courage; and at last masters this sort of indolent, unconcer'd Easiness, and the Man falls into Terror and Amazement; what has he at the bottom to preserve him from the *Devil* then? truly nothing; but he is, like *Cashio Borroughs*, all trembling, and cries out, *O God! here she comes*, and is frighted even to Death. Certainly a cold Indifference about it whether it be an Angel or the *Devil*, and above all, whether its Message be from Heaven or Hell, will not hold it out against the Terror that may come along with it from without, or the reflections of Guilt that may be raised by it from within; so that some better-grounded Courage, a Calm begun from a better Principle, must be enquir'd after; or else, as I said to my Deistical Friend, when you really do see the *Devil* you will not be so easy as you promise your self to be. But this is too serious for you, I must go on.

I C O M E next to the Enquiry, What is our business, and how should we behave if it our misfortune to have any such Appearance come to us? and suppose our Minds to be

as much compos'd as ordinarily may be expected, not more than our Neighbours; but what, *I say*, shall we do, and what is the best course for us to take?

I N my Opinion, and it is the next Advice I would give, I say next to that of fortifying the Mind with religious Considerations, of which I have spoken, and which should always go first, *speak to it*.

B Y speaking to it, my meaning is, Speak tho' it does not speak to you. I have heard of some Apparitions, who 'tis said, had no power to speak 'till they were first spoken to, and some cases of that kind are publish'd by those who I suppose believ'd them; tho' I see no reason to do so; and particularly of an Apparition that caused a poor Man to follow it over Hedge and Ditch all Night for many a Night [sig.Y3^b] together, 'till the poor Man was almost hurry'd to Death²²; but could not speak to him, and the frightened Wretch was afraid to speak to it; but at last the Man spoke, and then the Apparition's Mouth was loosed too: all which I must confess I see no manner of reason to believe, and therefore cannot recommend it to any body else to believe.

T H E R E seems no Consistency in the Nature of the thing, no foundation for it in Religion, or any thing in it that we can Reason upon for our own Understanding; and where neither Nature, Religion or Reason allow us any

Light in it, upon what Principle can we go to make our Judgement?

B U T leaving it therefore where we find it, I say if you see an Apparition, that is such an Apparition as we have been speaking of, not a Phantasm of your own Brain, not an imaginary Apparition the effect of Fright or Dream, or meer Whimsie, not a Hypochondriack Apparition, the effect of Vapours and Hysterick Shadows, when the Eyes see double, and Imagination makes it self a Telescope to the Soul, not to show Realities, but to magnify Objects in the remotest distance, and show things as in being which are not, if you see such an Apparition as this and speak it, 'tis no wonder you receive no answer, and so you go away more frightened with a silent dumb *Devil* than you would be with speaking one; but I say, if the Vision be real, if it be a Shape and Appearance in form as has been describ'd, never shun it and fly from it; but *speak* to it.

I F you would ask me what you would say to it, 'tis an unfair Question in some Respects; 'tis not possible for any one to dictate, without the proper Circumstances be describ'd. The old way you all know: *In the name of, &c.* as above, is the common road. I will not cry down the Custom, because 'tis the usual way, and the words are good; but I be- [sig.Y4^a] lieve a sincere mental Ejaculatory Prayer to the Blessed Being of Beings for his

superior Presence, would be as effectual as presenting the Words to the *Devil* as a kind of Exorcism; such a Petition sent up, and then a plain *what are you?* I think is a Compliment enough for the *Devil*.

A N honest, plain, religious *Scotman*²³ who I knew, and who thought he saw the *Devil*²⁴, tho' he was mistaken too, yet had this (to me) perfectly new Expression upon the surprise, *the Lord be between me and thee, Satan awa*, that is go away, or get thee away: 'twas certainly a good thought, and the poor Man was right, for if the Lord was between him and the *Devil* there was no great need to fear him and any of his.

B U T to wave particular Instructions in the case, the Occasion will certainly administer the Substance of what you should say; the present Direction is only in general, *speak to it*, never sink under the Terror or Surprize of the sight. The *Devil* is rarely seen in his own Shape, and ordinarily for ends of his own, he chuses to appear in familiar Shapes, personating some or other that we know, or have known, and representing to our Fancy something that will not terrify us; nay, 'tis the Opinion of the learned Divines, that the *Devil* would do much less harm, and be far less dangerous, if he appear'd as a meer *Devil*, with his Horns, his cloven Hoof, and his Serpent's Tayl and Dragon's Wings, as Fancy figures him out, and as

our Painters dress him up, than he does in his disguises, and the many Shapes and Figures he assumes to himself.

S O fatal are Masques and Disguises, Habits and Dresses to the World, and such advantage does a false Countenance give to Criminal Performances of many kinds, that even the Devil is more dangerous dress'd up in Masquerade, than in his own Cloaths, and in his own Colours; if he would come in all [sig.Y4^b] his Formalities and Frightfuls, he would not be capable of half so many Cousinings and Cheatings as he now puts upon us: now you have him here and you have him there, you have him every where and no where, he is here a Tempter to Wickedness, there a Preacher of Righteousness; to-day in one disguises, to-morrow in another; you know him and you don't know him, see him and don't see him, and how then can any one tell you what to say to him, or how to talk with him?

H O W E V E R, to come as near to it as we can, the first and ordinary Question, natural to the Occasion, is to know who he is, and whence he comes, what Message he has to deliver, what Business he comes about, and what you have to do with it, why he disturbs you in particular, and the like; and if you may obtain so much Civility from him, to desire him to trouble you no more; especially if you find the Apparition to be of the worst kind.

I F it is apparently a good Spirit, I think the Conduct should differ, as the Message he comes about will certainly differ; if it warns you to repent of such and such a scandalous Life; or if it bids you reform such and such a criminal Practice, which you know your self guilty of; accept the kind Admonition, submit to the Reproof, and promise Obedience; you may depend, as I have often said, the *Devil* comes of no such Errand.

I F it tells you such and such Dangers attend you, take the kind hint, and use the proper means to avoid them, thankfully acknowledging the Goodness of the Hand that sent the Notice, as well as the Messenger that brought it; for depend upon it the *Devil*, who is a Lover and Author, as well as the Promoter of Mischief, takes no Pains to prevent it, but would rather have a Hand in bringing it upon you. [sig.Y5^d]

A N D if such things as these are the Subject of the Message, what can you say why you should be afraid of the Messenger? 'Tis hard to rejoice in the Message, and be scar'd at the Messenger: the truth is, we are not so much accustom to such solemn Admonitions, such good and beneficent Cautions and Assistances; and this makes the thing strange and awful, and be receiv'd with Terror and Fright, and perhaps if it was not so we should receive them oftener.

W E do not find the old Patriarchs, or after them, the Children of *Israel*, were so frightened at the Apparitions of Angels and Spirits; 'tis true indeed that when the Angel appear'd to *Gideon* at the Threshing-Floor, it is said he was troubled at his Presence; nevertheless the Message was kind and encouraging; yet we find he recover'd himself, and took Courage to talk very particularly with it, and to expostulate with him about the Circumstances of his Country, and of the People, and even to ask a double Sign from the Angel to confirm his Faith: and how he went on? he obey'd the Voice of the Vision, notwithstanding all his Fears and Doubts, and he bow'd his Soul, and follow'd the Directions given him.

T H E R E are abundance of Reasons why we should listen to such Apparitions as these; their distinguishing Character is, that they always come of some Errand or other for the good of Mankind; take it either in general, or in particular: Sometimes 'tis alledg'd they come upon trifling or mean Occasions, as is the Case in many Instances given in the Story, and in Print. But it may be answer'd with an Enquiry, Are we sure these are not trifling Stories, and brought in by Persons, perhaps, but half informed? But what are we to think of the Apparition to King *James V.* in *Scotland*, who warn'd him against his *Flodden-Field* Expedi- [sig.Y5^b] tion? which if he had listen'd to he had sav'd his Life, and the Lives of ten

thousand of his People: for less, 'tis said, did not fall in the whole Undertaking.

A N D what shall we say of the Warning given to the Duke of *Buckingham*, by the Apparition of his own Father, which if he had listen'd to, 'tis very likely he had escap'd the fatal Knife? for *Felton*, who Assassinated him, did it, as it seems he declar'd at the Gibbet, upon the Account of the Popular Hatred, and that he thought him a publick Enemy to his Country.

T H E S E, and many more which I have mention'd, or which I have not mention'd, have been the Subject of such Messengers, and were far from trifling. If an Apparition gives any of us Notice of our approaching End, and bids us prepare for it, is not the Message solemn, and the Occasion of it weighty; and is not the Notice worth our Regard? Is the Preparation for Death a trifling thing? and the assurance how near the time is cannot but be a valuable Notice; I am sure it ought to be esteem'd so.

A F L O U T I N G atheistick Man of Wit²⁵, who must be nameless, because he will not bear to be nam'd to the Crimes which he is not asham'd to commit, told me, when discoursing this Part of the Subject, that it was no Kindness at all, for that Men ought to always be prepar'd for Death; and yet cou'd not deny that it was a remote Affair which he had not yet given himself the trouble to think about.

I C A N N O T believe but that if some People, who now value themselves upon their bright Thoughts, and their being above the Power of Chagrine, or of any melancholy Reflections to disturb their Joy, were told (nay, tho' it was by a kind Apparition) that they were to die, one in a [sig.Y6^a] Fortnight, one three Days; one at one time, and one at another, and all within a short time, they would have a little alteration upon their Out-sides.

G----- M-----²⁶ who laughs evermore, is continually tittering and prompting others to the lowest-priz'd Part of Mirth, who is all Levity and Froth, and owns that one Sigh never yet reach'd his Heart; should a solemn Apparition come to him and his Friend, the very Duplicate of himself, and say, Repent G----, and prepare for Death, for you have but three Months to live, and you -----, pointing to his Fellow-mimick, but five Days; I say, should such a Message be delivered him in such an awful Manner, as many Relations tell us have been done to others, I cannot have so little Charity for the Beau, but to think he would change Colour a little, and begin to consider, and especially if at the five Days end he had News that his other Self, the Image of his extraordinary Soul, the very *Sosio*²⁷ to himself, in Life, tho' not in Figure, was found dead in his Bed to a tittle²⁸ of the time.

I S A Y I cannot doubt but that he would learn to Sigh a little; and my Charity is more extensive in Mr. M-----'s Case, because, take him a little off of his ordinary Titillations, and unhinge him from the light Article which has gain'd so entirely upon him as to Eclipse him, the Man has yet some Brains, and they perhaps assist a little upon such an Occasion, to condense the Vapour, and bring the solid Part uppermost, which at present has not happen'd to him.

A N D not to single out a gay Humour or two from the rest, how many among our Box and Pit Heores, were they told they were under the Sentence of Death, and only Repriev'd for so many, and so many Days: I say, how many of them would shine at the next Opera? how would their Coun- [sig.Y6^b] tenanaces change, and their Knees knock one against another? How would they sit down in Tears and Repentance, or sink into the Death foretold, even by the meer Horror of its approach? for there is the most Dread where there is the least Repentance: Nor let any one cavil at the Expression, a Sentence and a Reprieve, let them take it as they will; the thing is no less, and can be understood no otherwise of us all: We are all under the Sentence, as directly as a Criminal that hears it at the Bar, with only this significant Difference, namely, That we are Repriev'd *sine die*²⁹, the Criminal is not, and the Consequence of this may be the worse; for we

promise ourselves it may be longer than we have reason to believe it is, and so are often Executed in Surprize, our Preparations being delay'd by Presumption; whereas the Offender knows he must die at the Expiration of his Reprieve, and perhaps is assur'd that 'tis vain to expect any farther delay.

N O W a kind Messenger comes, as the Prophet did to *Hezekiah*³⁰, and says, Prepare yourself, for you shall die, and not live; is this Messenger to be slighted and disregarded? If it is so treated 'tis at your Peril, you take that Part upon yourself; and if you find this the Case, you will hardly call the Messenger trifling, much less say such Apparitions generally come upon trifling Occasions.

H I S T O R Y records a great many foreboding Signs, and some by Apparition, foretelling the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and of the Temple; not that any of those Signs could be suppos'd to give Warning of it, so as that it might be prevented; for our Saviour had expressly said it should be destroy'd, *Their House should be left unto them desolate*, Matt. xxiii. 38³¹. *Not one Stone left upon another which shall not be thrown down*, Matt. xxiv. 2³². But those Signs and Apparitions were apparent Warn-[sig.Y7^d] ings to the People, at least to such of them that had the Wisdom to take Notice of them, to make their Escape out of the City before the *Romans* invested it, and

before it was too late; particularly the opening the great brazen Doors of the Temple, which *Josephus* says twenty Men could scarce turn to open or shut, and which opening of themselves, an Apparition was seen in the House of G O D, and a Voice heard, saying, *Let us Depart hence*³³.

N O question, but as the Warning or Alarm was given to direct many to their Escape, so many had that Wisdom given them as to make their Escape; and tho' the Desolation was horrible, and such as perhaps never equall'd, except in the same Place, and the same country, by the *Assyrians*, when they first Temple was burnt; yet, as they say 'tis a hard Battle where none escape, so *Josephus* himself owns, that many Thousands, and other say many hundreds of thousands fled in time, and made their Escape, flying, as the Text says, *from the Wrath to come*. Nor can I doubt but that many had warnings in Dreams, that is, as I say, by Apparition in Dream, by Visions, and some by open Apparitions, that the City would be destroyed.

R A B B I J U D A H³⁴ says, the Patriarchs appeared to many, and gave them Notice, that the *Romans* would come and beseige their City, and that the Temple should be destroyed; but I doubt much of the Story, and that On a double Account. 1. Whether ever any of the Patriarchs did so appear and forewarn them; for they had done so,

they would certainly have told them that the *Messiah* was come, and that therefore the second Temple was to be destroy'd, for that all the Prophecies were fulfill'd. But, 2. I doubt also that *Rabbi Judah*, if such an Author there was, never said so, and that 'tis only a Tradition. [sig.Y7^b]

I T is certain there were the like Omens, and I doubt not Apparitions too, just before the taking and sacking of *Rome*³⁵ by the *Barbarians*³⁶, the *Vandals*³⁷ and the *Goths*³⁸; and we might descend to modern History for many of the like: so that these Apparitions do not always come upon trifling Occasion, at lest they are not trifling to those whom they regard in particular, and therefore 'tis not an Objection for a particular Person to make.

I H A V E troubled you with none of those Apparitions, which have come to help you to find out Money, to reveal little love Secrets and Intrigues, and upon other such Cases; nor do I recommend it to you to believe those Trifles; they are most certainly the Apparitions of Fancy, as I shall observe at large in its Place; such People make a meer Harlequin of the *Devil*, a common Jack-Pudding³⁹, to make the Game with; 'tis most certain, the Spirits I speak of, know how to make themselves be better regarded, know how to make themselves considerable, can come clothed in Terror if they please, and have done so where occasion has call'd for it; either to enforce their

Message, or alarm such Persons who set up for a hardened Face beyond the Power of invisible Terrors.

B U T as their Message is generally peaceable, and the Intent of it kind and good, so they chuse to come in a manner, as little attend with the frightful Part as they can.

B U T not to dwell on this Part, or enquire at all what the Message is they come about, whether trifling or otherwise, the present Enquiry is, what is our Part, what is to be done when they do appear: For 'till we see them, we know nothing of their Business; nor perhaps when we see them, unless we speak to them; and we have many Stories of Apparitions, that only show themselves, and perhaps it may be never speak at all. [sig.Y8^a]

T H I S our People call *Walking*, and indeed it is not improperly call'd so, because, as to us, we know no more of their Business; but it no more follows that they have no other Business here because we don't know it, than that it is likely they should come hither, and walk to and fro, and have nothing to do.

As for those non-appearing Apparitions, if I may call them so, (for not to appear, and not to let us know what they appear for, seems to be much the same;) I mean those not-speaking Apparitions, we can indeed give no Account of them, because we cannot converse with them: It seems to me they are not of the Heavenly or Angelick Kind,

because they would certainly have some more apparent Business, and perhaps not be backward to speak of it, at least they would not seem to be ashamed of their Errand.

N O R is it my Opinion, that those Apparitions who come of good Errands can be supposed to be unable to speak, if it was necessary to their Business to use Speech; much less that they should receive their Commission or their Ability to speak from our first speaking to them: There is no Coherence in it: But certainly if the Spirits that appear under good Designs, and come upon good Errands, do not speak to us; they are not sent to us; their Business is with somebody else, which we know nothing of, tho' we may see the Spectre; for it may be that a Man may see an Apparition that has nothing to do with him, or to say to him.

O R perhaps the Spectre may execute its Commission effectually, without speaking. A Ghost⁴⁰ was said to haunt a certain House in the Country not far from Rygate in Surrey⁴¹; it was met in the Garden by one of the Family, who had long valued himself upon believing, and saying also, that there were no such things as Apparitions, and that he [sig.Y8^b] would be sure of it when-ever he met such a thing, he would know what it was made of before he parted with it.

G O I N G out of the House in the Evening when it was almost dark, but not quite, he meets the Apparition in

the Garden; the Apparition shun'd him, and would not have been seen, or made as if it would not have been seen. *HA!* says he boldly, *are you there! What are you?* The Apparition still makes from him, and he speaks again, *Who are you? What is your Name?* says he, in a kind of jesting manner. *My Business is not with you,* says the Apparition. But I have some Business with you, says he, I must know what you are, and I will know what you are; and with that, says *my Story*, (tho' by the way I must tell you, I don't know how true 'tis) *I say*, with that the bold Fellow offers to go up to it and lay Hands upon it; at which it advanced to him and over-run him, bore him down, and threw him against the Garden Wall, which was at least five or six Yards from him, with such Violence, that he was taken up for dead; and I suppose he never ventur'd to lay Hands upon a Spirit or Apparition again.

N O W be this Story true or not, I mention it to warn rash Heads, who pretending not to fear the *Devil*, are for using the ordinary Violences with him, which affect one Man from another, or with an Apparition, in which they may be sure to receive some Mischief. I knew One fired a Gun at an Apparition, and the Gun burst into a hundred Pieces in his Hand, (that is in a great many Pieces⁴².) Another struck at an Apparition with a Sword, and broke his Sword in Pieces, and wounded his Hand grievously⁴³.

It is most certain that an Apparition or a Spirit is no to be cut with a Sword, or shot with a Gun; as there is no Substance, there can be no Wound made; and 'tis next to Madness for any one to go that way to work, be it Angel or be it *Devil*. [sig.Z1^a]

B U T to carry this farther: In particular, an Apparition may shew itself, and perform its Mission in a full and compleat manner, and yet not speak. I have a Story⁴⁴ by me of a Gentleman who carried on a Secret and Criminal Conversation with a certain Lady, and having made an Assignation to meet the Lady, was met at the Place by an Apparition of his own Mother; she said nothing, she did not offer to speak, nor did he at first know it to be an Apparition. The Gentleman walks about in the Field near a House where he had appointed the Lady to meet; the Apparition walk'd about likewise, and he takes it to be a Woman in ordinary, as any Woman might be seen to walk up and down in the same Field or Walk.

B Y and by Woman or Lady appointed comes, he meets her, and goes forward to salute her; the Apparition shows itself just behind the Lady, and looks him full in the Face; he starts back from the Lady, and instead of kissing her, *cries out*, and asks her, Who's that behind her; she turns about, but sees nobody, nor he neither, which frights them both.

H E fancies it to be an imaginary Vapour, having no Faith at all in Apparitions, and offers to go up to the Lady again; and behold, he sees the Apparition just behind her again, the Face just standing just so as to look over the Lady's Shoulder, and stare just upon him; he cries out again, and knows it to be his Mother, who it seems was dead, and in crying out again, he adds, *My Mother!* at which it vanishes.

H A D this Apparition any occasion to speak? Was it not Rebuke enough to look him in the Face? Even in common Affairs, a Look from the Eye of one who has Authority to reprove, is sometimes more effectual than the Reproof, if it was given in Words at length. [sig.Z1^b]

S U P P O S E this Spectre to regard him not with a threatning Aspect, but with a Countenance of Pity, of a Maternal Reprehension, a Reproof urging Shame and Reproach, like that of *Solomon, What, my Son! what, the Son of my Vows! my Son be seen embracing a Strumpet!*⁴⁵ the Man went away, says my Story, fill'd with Confusion; as no question indeed but he would.

H E R E was no need of Speech; the Look was a Lash, and a Reproof sufficient; the Man would hardly meet there any more, if he would meet the same Lady any more, and 'tis very likely he never did.

'T I S very unhappy in the Case before me, that it is impossible to attest the Truth of all the Stories which

are handed about upon such a Subject as this is; and therefore tho' I might make Flourishes of the Truth of the Particulars in all Cases, as others do; I chuse rather to insist upon the Moral of every Story, whatever the Fact may be, and to inforce the Influence, supposing the History to be real, or whether it be really so or not, which is not much material.

A L L these Cases, however, return me back to the Advice above, namely, always if you see an Apparition, *speake to it*, speak to it early, and answer any Questions it asks, but be sure to ask it no Questions except such as are reasonable, and may be supposed to be within the Reach of its immediate Capacity to answer; no Questions tending to reveal the Mysteries of a future State. To ask such Questions as are a plain diving into the Secrets of Heaven, which it is already declared shall not be laid open, is asking the good Spirit, if it be such, to offend on his Part, and is really criminal on your Part; as, to ask what Condition the Person is in, meaning the Person whose Shape the Apparition takes up; How he gets Leave to appear here; why he comes [sig.Z2^d] in this or that Manner; what kind of Place Heaven is, and such like; as the Bishop of *Down* and *Connor* ordered *James Haddock* to ask.

B U T suit your Questions to what the Spectre shall say, or as the manner of its Appearance shall direct you;

as particularly, if it requires you to do any thing, to speak to any Person, or to deliver and Admonition to a third Person, as in the case of the Apparition about the Duke of *Buckingham*, and as in the Case of Dr. *Scot* and others; you may justly ask Tokens by which you may make your self be believed; also such Questions as relate to yourself, and to the Nature of the thing which the Apparition comes about.

B U T Questions relating to things beyond Time, curious Enquiries into Futurity and Eternity, are upon many Accounts to be avoided; and for some Reasons which I care not to mention in particular; because I would not form frightful Ideas in the Minds of those that read. I have some Stories by me which give an Account that upon such needless Inquiries the Apparition has turn'd itself into terrifying Appearances, intimating Resentment; not only a Resentment on its own Account, but as if it was an Offence and a high Provocation to the supreme Power to offer to search into what Heaven has conceal'd: To me, indeed, it seems it would be so, and therefore 'tis certainly best to refrain those Inquiries.

In a word, the Apparition is, as I may say, Aggressor; it appears; you are passive; be so still, other wise you make yourself the Apparition, and put the Apparition in your Place: ask it wherefore it appears to you, whether for Good or Evil; if for Evil, call upon God for

Protection; if it comes for Good, declare your self ready to receive its Message, and to observe every just Direction, to obey every righteous Command, and attend to what it shall say. [sig.Z2^b]

T H I S to act fearless, and yet cautious; bold, and yet wisely; resolv'd, and yet humble; and in this Temper of Mind, I think no Man need be afraid of an Apparition.

Y O U may resolve all such things into this; Whether they are good Spirits or bad, Angelick Appearances or Diabolick, they are under superior Limitations: the *Devil* we know is chain'd, he can go no farther than the length of his Tether; he has not a Hand to act, or a Foot to walk, or a Mouth to speak, but as he is permitted. The Case of his Commission to *Job* is explicit; such and such things he might do, such he might not; even the Lives of *Job's* Children, and Cattle, and Servants were given him; and, like a *Devil* as he was, he went to the full Extent of his Commission; he spar'd not one of them that he could destroy, but he was forbid to touch the Life of *Job*, and he did not, he durst not, he could not kill him.

I F then we are sure the *Devil* is restrained from hurting us, any otherwise than he is directed and limited, we may be sure that good Spirits are; for their Nature, their Business, their Desires are all fix'd in a general Beneficence to Mankind; their Powers and Employments, as far as they are concern'd among us, and

in all things upon this Surface, are included in the heavenly Acclamation when the Angels sung to the Shepherds, *On Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men,* Luke-. ii. 14.

I F at any time they are Messengers of Judgment, Executors of the divine Vengeance, it is likewise by special, nay, by extraordinary Commission; and then they are indeed Flames of Fire, and punctuality do what they are commanded, and no more.

B U T even then, that we may be ease in the matter of Apparition, they do not disguise themselves or conceal their Commission: As *Manoah's* Wife said to him when the Angel appeared to her, [sig.Z3^d] *if the L O R D were pleas'd to kill us, he would not have received a Burnt-offering, and a Meat-offering at our Hands, neither would H E have shewed us all these things,* Judges xiii. 23. So here, the Apparition of a good Spirit would not betray us, would not act by Stratagem with us, would not appear in Peace when he means War; come like a Friend, when he was sent for an Enemy; give good Council, when he meant Death and Destruction: But if it appears in Peace, its Design and its Message are certainly Peace.

U P O N the whole, you have no way any Occasion to be disturbed at an Appearance, but to regard the Power sending, not the Agent sent; looking beyond the Apparition itself, and with a resolved Mind, and a

steddy, calm Courage, speak to it, and demand its Business; I do not mean by Demand, a Demand of Insult and Arrogance, but an humble, yet resolved Enquiry, Why, and on what Occasion it comes to you.

I H A V E done counselling. If this Part is too grave for you, as I have said before, it is not very tedious, you may make it a Parenthesis, and the Work will read without it; for why should I desire you to do any good thing against your Will?

I F you don't think there is any thing in it at all, if it is not worth your Notice, go on without it; and when you see any thing, be not surpriz'd and confus'd, cover'd with Horror and Fright; as is usually the Case of those who laugh loudest at such things before they come.

W ----- G -----, Esq⁴⁶; famous for the particular Virtue called Impudence, and for that more than ordinary Perfection of it, which some People call Blasphemy; how merry did he used to make himself about the ordinary Notions of seeing Apparitions, and hearing People talk of Spirits and the *Devil*! [sig.23^b]

H O W witty would he be upon the poor Ladies, when the seemed little disordered at frightful Stories of People's walking, and of the *Devil*'s appearing in horrible Shapes, and such like things, as the old Women perhaps had weakly enough fill'd their Heads with! Nothing pleased the young Hero like making a Jest of

those things; and the Truth was, that many of them deserved it: but the Jest of all Jests was, to see the Esquire come home frightened out of more Wits than any one every thought him Master of, when riding home in the dark one Night, he met, that is, his Fancy met, the *Devil* in some monstrous Shape or other; but such as his Terrors could not leave him room to describe, only by two great Saucer Eyes glaring in the Dark, and by puffing and blowing most frightfully. (It seems the Devil had been upon some hasty Business, and was out of Breath.)

I N this Terror he is become such a Convert to the Doctrine of the Reality of Apparitions, that he dares not be a Moment in the dark, dares not lye alone, or go up Stairs by himself: When upon full Examination, the *Devil* he met was only a hunted Bullock that some Butchers had made half mad, and had pursued 'till they lost him in the Night, and he passed the Esquire in the dark, and was found the next Morning half dead, near the Place where his Worship was scared with him. Yet the Fright has got such Possession of his Soul, that all the laughing at him, and all the Fools and Children mocking him in the very Streets cannot beat the Fit of trembling out of his Joints, nor fortify his Soul against the Vision but of a Cat, if it be in the dark.

S O eminently silly does that needless Passion *Fear* bring us to be, when it has once gotten Possession of the

Mind; How foolish, how inconsistent, are the Operations of it! Hence really the Saying, *to be* [sig.Z4^d] *frighted out of our Wits*, or Such a one is frightened out of his Wits, is not so out of the way as some may imagine; and the Esquire mention'd just now is as effectually so frightened out of his Wits, even in the letter of it, as is possible; for nothing ever acted more like a Fool than he does now; except it was himself when he made a Jest of the Reality of that very thing, of which now he is so disorder'd with the Shadow.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Sham Apparitions, and Apparitions which have been the Effect either of Fraud or Fear.

B Y sham Apparitions I am to be understood such as have been put upon People by the Fraud and Craft of subtle Knaves, in order to bring about their wicked Designs, or such as Fear and weak Apprehension have presented to, and imposed upon the Imagination. In short,

F I R S T, Apparitions with which People are cheated by others.

S E C O N D L Y, Apparitions with which they cheat themselves.

F I R S T, Apparitions form'd by the Knavery of others, to cheat, abuse and impose on the Credulity of the People. Such was the fable of *Jupiter* descending in a Golden Shower, and falling into the Lap of *Danaæ*, whom he had a Mind to Debauch. And indeed, whose Virtue could we think in those Days, (not to say a Word of our more modest and sanctified Ladies) resist a shower of Gold, falling into their Lap? with a God in the middle of it too; But that by the way. [sig.Z4^b]

T H E like Apparition that Immortal Ravisher of Virgins, call'd *Jupiter*, made, when he stole the Lady *Europa* in the shape of a Milk-white Bull, inviting the Lady to get upon his Back, and immediately jumps into the Sea with her, and swims over the *Hellespont*¹; from whence the other side where she landed is call'd *Europe* to this Day. Indeed when Ladies come to ride upon Bulls, what can they expect? Such was the horrid Cheat² put upon that poor virtuous, but bigoted *Roman* Lady, persuading her that the God ----- desir'd to enjoy her, which she in blind Devotion submitted to with Raptures of divine Joy and Elevation; caused her Bed to be laid in the Sacristie of the Temple, deck'd it with Flowers and Perfumes, and caused the debauch'd Priest to be dress'd up with Robes of State, and offering rich Odours all the Night; when at length, instead of the God, instead of the Apparition which she expected, she was betray'd, and was violated by

the Traytor that lay in wait for her in the Temple. Such again was the Apparition of *Apollo* which *Lucian*³ speaks of, which was seen suspended in the Air, and carry'd or mov'd about from place to place in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Hierapolis*⁴. *Lucian de Dea Syra*⁵.

S U C H was the sordid Imposture of *Mahomet*⁶, who having brought a tame Pigeon to come up to his Ear, where he fed her always with Pease⁷ or Tares⁸, so that she constantly came thither at his Call; persuaded his Followers that it was an Apparition of the Angel *Gabriel* sent from G O D to whisper divine Oracles into his Soul; and that he received the heavenly Inspirations by that means. Such was the Voice which pronounc'd him to be the Prophet of the most high G O D, which Voice sounding in the Air, no Person appearing to speak, was concluded to be the Voice of an Angel, appearing to him, whereas it was spoken by his own [sig.25^d] Direction by a poor Fellow who he had placed on purpose at the bottom of a Well; and when he found the Imposture take with the People, he sent a Detachment of his Followers to fill up the Well with Stones, pretending it was that it should no more be prophan'd by any Man or Cattle drinking its holy Waters, from whence the Voice of an Angel had been heard; but really to bury the poor Wretch at the bottom of it, that he might not betray the Secret, and discover to contriv'd Delusion⁹.

S U C H likewise was the Story¹⁰ of the Ass that carry'd him up into Paradise, and that not only to one, but through seven or eight Paradises or Heavens, where he saw two and thirty thousand Visions: And such were all the Apparitions which that ridiculous Imposter feigned to see upon every Occasion, 'till his blinded Followers believed him to be an Apparition himself.

S U C H was the Image of St. George¹¹, rightly call'd Miraculous, which the Greeks to this Day play horrible Pranks with at the Isle of *Skyros*¹² in the *Archpelague*¹³, and which they put upon the People as an Apparition indeed; exercising particular Severities upon the People in several Cases: But as it is manag'd by the Priests, so 'tis especially very furious upon all those that neglect to fulfill the Vows made to the said Saint *George*, or in general to all those that do not pay their Debts to the Clergy.

M O N S I E U R *Tournefort* in his Voyage into the *Levant*¹⁴ gives a diverting Account of the Conduct of his Devil of *Skyros*; how they worry the Ignorant People to Death with it, and impose upon them by it in the grossest and absurdest manner possible. As there are not greater Imposters in the World than the *Greeks*, and especially the *Greek* Clergy; so there are not a more ignorant, easily-impos'd-upon People in the World than the *Greek* [sig.Z5^b] Layety; and especially those whom the *Greek*

Clergy have to do with: Hence it is, that the most absurd Reasonings go down with them; and indeed they may be truly said to be *Believers* in the literal sense, for they take all things by the lump, and without reasoning at all upon them: if not, it would be impossible to possess them, as the Priests do, with a Belief that the Image of St. George moves the Priest, not the Priest the Image, tho' he carries it about upon his Shoulders.

Y E T this is the fact: The Image of St. George is no more than a Picture, and that of a very coarse Painting representing St. George upon a log of Wood; 'tis plac'd over the great Altar of the Cathedral at *Skyros*, which is dedicated to that Saint: when the Church is full of People, the Image is seen to move of it self. This they call, and were the fact true, it might well be call'd, the Apparition of St. George; but be the Facet true or not, 'tis believ'd to be so, and that's as well to all the intents and purposes of an Apparition, as if the Image were invigorated.

B U T to speak in their own words, the Image is seen to move of it self, and to show it self in Apparition to all People; for notwithstanding its Bulk and Weight, it will transport it self through the Air into the midst of the Assembly; there it hovers about, as it were viewing every Face and examining every Heart: if it finds any one that has fail'd to preform any Vow to him (the Saint,) the

Image immediately fixes it self on the Shoulders, of the Delinquent, singles him out, and not only he is expos'd to the whole Assembly, but the Image plies him with furious continued Buffetings, 'till he becomes penitent, and promises again in the Face of the Assembly to pay what he owes to the Church. [sig.Z6³]

B U T this is not all: but when the Assembly is thus purg'd by the Justice of this Ghost in an Image, it is then taken up and plac'd upon the Shoulders of a blind Monk, who carries it out of the Church into the Town; the Monk being blind and not knowing whither he goes, is guided by the occult impression of the Image, who guides him as a Rider guides a blind Horse; and thus he carries him directly to the House of such as are Delinquent in the case of Debt to the Altar of St. George.

N O R is it enough that the Debtor seeing the Apparition or Image coming to him, flies from it, and escapes from House to House; for the Image causes the Monk to follow him by the Foot, as a Hound does a Hare; so that, in a word, there's no escaping St. George, no flying from him, the Monk is steddily in his pursuit, ascends, descends, passes, repasses, enters all places, 'till the poor Wretch, who may be truly said to be hunted down, or Hounded down as they express it in the North, is oblig'd to pay the utmost Farthing.

T H I S Story fully confirm'd my thoughts in a Remark which I made from the beginning of this Work, that really Church Apparitions are the most frightful, most teizing, and terrible in their way, of all the real *Devils* that walk about in this World.

B U T what need we wander thus among the Ancients, and hunt among the *Greek Schismatics*¹⁵ for artificial Apparitions, and for the Ecclesiastic Delusions of this kind? The *Roman Church*, that true Catholic Establishment, built upon the solid Rock of St. *Peter* himself, how full is it of glorious Frauds of this kind? and how has the whole Scheme of Papal Tyranny had been supported among the People in this very manner, ever since the great desection of the *Roman Hierarchy*, from its true Primitive Priority, and original holy Institution? [sig.26^b]

N O T that I purpose to make this Work a Collection of Church Apparitions, whether Popish or Protestant; any more than I shall enter upon a reciting the *Universalis*¹⁶ of State Apparitions; 'tis well for this Age, both in Church and State, that my Doctrine of the Rest of the Souls is establish'd; for certainly, if the Souls of the Departed could be disturb'd either in Heaven or Hell, by the mad things, or the simple things, the good things, or the wicked things transacted by their Posterity in these in these Days, there must be as great an Uneasiness in those eternal Mansions on account of the present Age, as

ever there was since History gives us any Account of things: Never did any Generation make such Fools of their Fathers, and such wise Men of themselves, and both so unaccountable; sure it must be, that the Dead cannot come to the Quick, and that they know nothing of us, or the whole World would be one Apparition, and we should, as Sir W --- B---¹⁷ said above, have all come up again that was under Ground, the dead World would be too many for the living World, and we should meet ten Apparitions in every Street for one living Creature.

B U T to come to the Case in hand, the first Christian Apparition I meet with deserves our particular Remark; first indeed, because of the Importance of the Occasion, namely, for the Confirmation of the Faith of all true Catholicks in the great disputed, yet unsettled Point, viz. Whether ever *St. P E T E R* was at *R O M E* or no? a Point so essential, and which the Hereticks take so much Pains to make doubtful, that if we Catholicks do not establish it past all the Cavils of our Enemies, we do nothing; and for this we bring the miraculous Apparition of Jesus Christ to *St. Peter* just without the City, and which carried *Peter* back again into the City; so that as he came out of *Rome*, and re- [sig.Z7^d] turn'd to *Rome*, Christ himself being Witness to it, sure it can never be disputed any more¹⁸.

T H I S being of so great Importance to the Catholick Church, it is meet I should bring you good Authority for the Relation; and therefore thinking my self not competent, not a sufficient Evidence, being perhaps suspected of Heresy, I shall give it you out of the Labours of an ancient Father of the *Roman* Church, and you shall have the Story from his own Mouth, and in his own Words, as follows: It is the famous Doctor *Smith*¹⁹ a Popish Preacher in Queen *Mary's* Days, who boasted that he had overcome both Bishop *Ridley*²⁰ and Bishop *Latimer*²¹, in a Dispute against them about St. *Peter's* having been at *Rome*. Take a piece of the Reverend Doctor's Sermon.

T H E Doctor's Business was to take upon him to run down the poor oppress'd Confessors, *Cranmer*²², *Ridley* and *Latimer*, and make them odious to the People; and being to preach a Sermon upon this Subject at *Whittington* College²³ in *London*, (the same, or near it, that is now call'd St. *Martin Vintry*) He begins thus,

" My Masters, you are in great Error concerning the
" blessed Sacrament, and all your Trust was in *Cranmer*,
" *Ridley*, and *Latimer*; as for *Latimer*, he said in open
" *Disputation* at *Oxford*, that he had no Learning in that
" Matter, but out of *Cranmer's* Book. Before this I
" disputed with *Latimer* twenty Years ago, and then he had
" no Learning: As for *Cranmer*, he said that his Learning
" came from *Ridley*; and as for *Ridley*, I disputed with

" him my self now at Oxford the other Day, and I proved
" my Argument thus, *Ille cui Christus obviavit Romæ fuit*
" *Romæ; ac Christus obviavit Petro Romæ: Ergo Petrus fuit*
" *Romæ*²⁴. That is, He whom Christ met at Rome was at
" Rome; [sig.Z7^b] but Christ met Peter at Rome, E R G O
" Peter was at Rome.

" B Y this Argument I prove two things, and singular
" Mysteries of our Faith.

" F I R S T, That Peter was at Rome, against those who
" clatter that Peter was never at Rome. S E C O N D L Y,
" That if Peter met Christ bodily, as Abdias²⁵ reporteth,
" and which I am sure is true, or else such an ancient
" and holy Father would never have written it; then
" consequently he may as well be in the Blessed
" Sacrament, as he was met bodily. To this Ridley stood
" like a Block, and seeing himself convinc'd, answer'd
" nothing. Then said I, *cur non respondes Hærtice,*
" *Hæreticorum, Hæreticissime*²⁶? did I not handle him
" well?

" T H E N he deny'd the Minor, which I prov'd thus.
" Christ met Peter going out of Rome, and said Good-
" morrow Peter! whither goest thou? Peter answer'd, Good-
" morrow good Man, whither goest thou? Then said Christ,
" I go to Rome to suffer. What! saith Peter: I trow,
" unless I take my Marks amiss, ye be J E S U S
" C H R I S T: Good Lord, how do you? I am glad I have

" met you here. Then said Jesus Christ to *Peter*, GO back
"and suffer, or else I must; & *pro te & me*²⁷.

" W H E N *Ridley* had heard this my Proof, and *Abdias's*
" Authority, a Doctor ancient and irrefragable, he
" answer'd never a word; and thus I confuted *Ridley* in
" the Audience of a thousand; and yet ye say, that Jesus
" Christ was never bodily on Earth since his Ascension.

H E R E'S an Apparition of good Fame, and of
extraordinary Authority; and if any Objection can lye
against it, 'tis only whether it be true or not; but I am
not to answer for that, 'tis certainly true, that the
Learned Doctor preach'd this excellent Sermon, and that's
enough for me. [sig.28³]

B U T having thus given you an Apparition of such great
Authority, namely of Jesus Christ himself, I shall quote
you a few more modern kind to confirm you in this
Principle, namely, that Apparitions did not cease in the
Church: Tho' Miracles are said to cease, and Prophecies
cease, tho' Oracles are dumb, and the Dead do not return;
yet that Apparition is not wanting, and the Artifices of
the Fathers remain; namely, that they can show you
wonders in Vision every Day for the Confirmation of that
great Catholick Verity.

I M I G H T descend here to the famous Apparition of
*Loudon*²⁸, commonly call'd the *Devil of Loudon*²⁹; and the
yet more famous Apparition of *Jezter*³⁰ at *Bern*³¹ in

Switzerland. These are indeed Orthodox Delusions, and both carried on with the utmost Assurance, I had almost said Villainy, by the Priests: But I am not come so far down yet on our way to Modern Roguery.

O N E of our Popes I think insisted, that he had had an Apparition of the *Devil* to him; whereas St. *Francis*³², and St. *Ignatius*³³ each in their own turn put the Bite of Apparition upon the World, in so many particular cases, that if they had not, as we may say, let it off in time, as the World took them for mad Men and Fools, they would have taken them for what they really were, viz. Knaves and Cheats, and have used them accordingly; and indeed it was once within an Ace St. *Francis* of his being whipt through the Streets at *Naples* for an Imposter; and he had but one way to get off, which was to add some things to his Conduct so extremely silly and ridiculous, that he was taken for an Idiot, and let run loose in the Streets with a crowd of Boys at his Heels following and shouting at him, and throwing Dirt and rotten Eggs upon him. This he turn'd into a species of Martyrdom, valued himself upon it, and would not suffer the Filth to [sig.Z8^b] be scraped off from him; because it was the Ornament and Crown of his Sufferings for preaching the Gospel.

I T was doubtful, for some time, whether this holy Enthusiast had more Apparitions of the *Blessed Virgin*, or of the *Devil*, following him: It is true, some of our

Hereticks affirm'd he had no Apparitions at all, either of the *Virgin* or of the *Devil*; but that it was all a *devilish* Cheat, which he had the Face to put upon the World. But this, they tell us, is too uncharitable; because 'tis supposing the Wretch himself (who, it is allow'd, was a very weak and silly, tho' an impudent Fellow) was able to Impose upon all the World at the time, who Universally believ'd he had seen some Apparitions which elevated his Mind to that degree of Enthusiasm which he appear'd acted by.

B U T then, if we must allow he was visited by Apparitions, it must be of the *Devil*, not the *Blessed Virgin*; because we have no Scripture Authority to support the Notion that she ever did, or can appear at all, either to him or any body else; and that all the pretended Apparitions of the *Virgin Mary*, of what kind soever, which the Legends are full of, are the meer Impostures of the Priests, as really and openly as if they had been seen to be perform'd: Such was her speaking to St. *Bernard*³⁴, when he came up the Nave of the great Church at *Millan*³⁵, at four steps, twenty Yards at a step; at the first step he said *O Fælix*³⁶! at the second step, *O Pia*³⁷! at the third step, *O Santa*³⁸! and at the fourth step, *Maria*! to which the Image answer'd, *Salve Bernardi*³⁹. The Marks of the four steps, Dr. *Burnet*⁴⁰, in his Letters⁴¹, tells us are to be seen in the Church

still, covered with little Plates of Brass, having the Words severally cut upon them: and yet in spite of the Relique we cannot [sig.,Al^d] for our Lives believe that the silent Image spoke to him, any more than he stept twenty Yards at a stride.

U P O N the whole, we are at a Point with St. *Francis*, that if any Apparition did haunt him, it was that of the *Devil*; and they tell us this was so frequent, that at last he pray'd to the *Virgin*, that the *Devil* might not be allow'd to appear to him but upon extraordinary Occasion; and that whenever he did, he should have the better of the *Devil*, if he contended with him: after which the *Devil* never appear'd to him at all in his own Shape, as it seems he used to do, but always under some Disguise, or in other Persons Shapes, tempting him in those Apparitions, as he found Occasion; but that he was always too hard for him, and drove him away. Who had the Victory at last, History is silent: but some are apt to doubt that the *Devil* had the better of him then, for that we do not read much of his Triumph over the *Devil*, in *Articulo Mortis*⁴².

S T. I G N A T I U S, the Patron of the *Jesuits*, pretended to make St. *Francis*, who was before him, his Patron, and to Mimick him in all his most ridiculous Extravagancies; and these of Apparitions amongst the rest: and his Life indeed is full of Histories of

Apparitions, either of one Saint or other, or of the Devil, or of the Virgin, upon all Occasions, and some of the most trifling and frivolous in the World⁴³.

S T. F R A N C I S being very melancholy, earnestly desir'd to hear some Musick, being told that the Musick would exhilarate his Soul; and immediately an Apparitions of Angels surrounded him, and making a Concert of most harmonious Musick play'd admirably for his Consolation, for a very considerable while. [sig. A1^b]

S T. I G N A T I U S had like Apparitions of Angels playing sweet Lessons of heavenly Musick to him when he was writing his Book of Constitutions; likewise after his Death a Concert of Angles made most excellent Musick at his Grave, and several Stars were seen plac'd upon his Sepulchre.

N. B. *The first Stars that were every seen in Apparition upon Earth; nor indeed did I ever hear that the Stars walk'd before.*

S O M E Apparitions have been form'd by the Policy, or rather the meer Face of the Priests, to prove their absurd Doctrines. Surius⁴⁴, a zealous Writer for Invocation of Saints, says, that *whatever* Hereticks *may prate*, (he should have said, whatever the Scripture may prate) *it is abundantly prov'd that the departed Saints know our Concerns on Earth, and hear our Petitions*⁴⁵, and

so he determines the Question in Controversy, viz.
Invocation of Saints.

*Surius not. ad Bonavent. in Vit. St. Francisci*⁴⁶.

H E does not indeed offer any thing to prove the Fact,
but several miraculous Apparitions of the *Blessed Virgin*
to the devout Priests praying to her, one of which may be
as true as the other.

T O prove the Possibility of a Person being in two
Places at once, we are assured of the following
Apparition of *St. Ignatius*.

L E O N A R D K E S E L⁴⁷, a Jesuit of *Cologne*⁴⁸,
passionately desir'd to see his extraordinary Person; of
whom he had heard such wonderful Things related, and
whose Fame spread far and wide for a most wonderful Man:
Kesel, an honest well-meaning Man, knowing very well the
best way to see a Man was to be brought to the Place
where he was, and having no Notion of his being a Worker
of Impossibilities, tho' he thought him a strange Person
too; yet, I say, not dreaming of Miracles, [sig. A2^d] he
writes to *Ignatius* what a desire he had to see him, and
begs his Leave (for *Kesel* being a Priest of his Order, he
could not stir without License) I say, begs his Leave to
come to *Rome* to receive his Blessing.

I G N A T I U S forbids him; positively assuring him that if such an Interview was necessary, *G O D* would provide a way for it, without giving him the trouble of so long as Journey.

K E S E L did not understand the meaning of the Answer, and was extremely dissatisfy'd to be so far under the Displeasure of his Superior, as to be deny'd coming to see him, which he so passionately desir'd; however he was oblig'd to submit, and waited the Event.

U P O N a Day, says the Story, when he had least thought of it, behold *Ignatius* comes up into his Cell, or Chamber, and having talk'd with him a very considerable while, suddenly disappear'd; leaving the Jesuit exceedingly comforted with such a prodigious Visit.

S T. F R A N C I S did these things frequently, it seems, and rid through the Air in a fiery Chariot; which I dare say is as true as that *St. Dunstan*⁴⁹, while he was a Boy, flew down from the top of *Glastenbury Tor*⁵⁰, or *Tower*, a Place well known in *Somersetshire*⁵¹.

T H E Conversion of *St. Ignatius*⁵², they tell us, was brought to pass by an Apparition of *St. Peter* to him, who came and touch'd his Wounds receiv'd in Battle, and healed them immediately; and yet it seems as if *St. Peter* was but a lame Doctor, for that *St. Ignatius* halted, and that his Leg was crooked as long as he liv'd, cannot be deny'd; whereas when *St. Peter* healed the impotent Man at

Jerusalem, the Text says he made him *Every whit whole*,
Act iii. 7, 8. [sig.⁷A2^b]

S T. F R A N C I S is said to have done innumerable
Cures for sick and diseased Persons⁵³, by appearing to
them after his Death, and I could fill a Volume with the
History of them; but it seems to be needless, all the
true Catholicks acknowledge it.

P A S C A L L⁵⁴, *Ignatius's* Chamber-Fellow and
Companion, being reduced to great Necessities after his
Death⁵⁵, implores the Assistance of his Colleague in the
Church of St. *Laurence*⁵⁶, or some other Church at *Rome*;
immediately he heard a melodious Sound, and saw *Ignatius*
appearing to him, attended with a numerous and beautiful
Train of Servants of God; but what Relief the Apparition
gave him in his extreme Necessity, *this Deponent saith*
*not*⁵⁷.

B U T I may close the Discourse of impos'd Apparitions
with that memorable Story of *Jezter*, a *Dominican*⁵⁸ in the
Monastery or House of *Dominicans* at *Bern*, in *Switzerland*:
The Forgery is manifest, and the Reason of it; 'twas an
Imposition on the *Fransicans*⁵⁹, and contriv'd to carry on
the Contention which was between two Societies to a
compleat Victory.

T H E *Fransicans* insist upon the *Blessed Virgin's* being
*Immaculate*⁶⁰, and born without original Sin, sanctify'd
from the Womb; and therefore they canonize Blessed St.

Ann, who was the *Virgin's* Mother, and make her a triumphant Saint; almost as glorious as her Daughter, and have a Service for her, call'd, *the Prerogatives of St. Ann, Mother of the Mother of God*: wherein they declare she conceiv'd the *Blessed Virgin* without the Knowledge of a Man, and that it was upon an Apparition of two Angels to her, which she relates to her Husband *Joachim*. There's an Apparition too for the Confirmation of the *Fransicans*. (That's by the way.) [sig. A3^d]

T H E *Dominicans*, on the other hand, deny that the *Virgin* is Immaculate; they allow that she is conceiv'd in Sin, but that she continu'd under the *Culpa*⁶¹ or *Defilement* but three Days; and they bring in an Apparition of the *Blessed Virgin* to this Friar *Jezter*, lamenting to him that they should go about to make her equal to her Son in Holiness, and confessing, in the Words of the Text, that she was *shapen in Iniquity*, *Psal.* li. 5.

S O here is one Miracle to confute another, and perhaps both alike authentic.

B U T the Story of *Jezter* is full of Miracles, all contriv'd by the Prior, and three of the Fathers: first, the Apparition of a Soul in Purgatory comes to *Jezter* with a Box near his Mouth, so contriv'd, that when he breath'd upon it, it appear'd to be all Fire coming out

of his Mouth; he had also three Dogs hanging upon him, and gnawing as his Tormentors.

I N this Posture he comes to the poor Friar Jezter in the dark, and when he was in his Bed, tells him his deplorable Condition, but that he might be taken out of Purgatory by his Means, and by his Mortifications; and this Story he backs with most horrible Groans, as in the utmost Misery by his Suffering.

N. B. *You are to understand that this Friar Jezter was a Fellow pick'd out to make a proper Tool for those Impostures, being very silly, and very devout; and had they not over-acted the thing, the Design might have gone a great way.*

I N Consequence of the first Apparition, they made the poor Friar undergo severe Discipline, Whipping and Mortifications, and then the Apparition came and thank'd him, and told him he was deliver'd out of Purgatory by his Means; so that [sig.₂A3^b] Part ended, to the infinite Satisfaction of the poor macerated⁶² Friar.

T H E next was the Apparition of the same Person, but in the Habit of a Nun, representing St. Barbara⁶⁴, and all in Glory; telling him, that the blessed Virgin was so delighted with his Zeal and Devotion, that she would visit him the next Day in Person, and give him her Benediction for Consolation in his Sufferings and Mortifications; at which the Fool (the Friar I mean) was

ravish'd with Joy, and prepar'd himself and the whole Convent to receive her.

A T the appointed time, the expected Delusion appeared: The blessed Virgin, cloathed with the utmost Magnificence, dress'd up with Jewels, as she used to be on Occasion of the most solemn Festivals; attended by Angels which were seen to be flying about her, as her Pages.

N. B. They were little carv'd Angels which were placed in the Church upon extraordinary Days, and now placed as Machines about the Apparition, and lifted up in the Air, with Pullies fasten'd in the Room above.

I N this Equipage, the Lady Queen of Heaven, Mother of God, was brought in Apparition to her poor mortify'd and humble Servant; she carest him with high Expectations of Affection to him, extolling the Merit of his Charity, in suffering such Severities for the meer Love of delivering a poor tormented Soul out of Purgatory; own'd to him, that she was conceived in original Sin; and told him Pope Julius⁶⁴, who then held the Chair, should put a final End to all those Disputes, and should abolish the Feast of her Conception. After much more to the same purpose, she promised him a Mission to go to the holy Father in her Name, to assure him of the Truth of the Vision, and that it was her Pleasure it should be so; and in Confirmation of it [sig.,A4^d] all, she gave him three Drops of Blood,

which she told him were the Tears Christ shed, when he wept over *Jerusalem*⁶⁵; with abundance of such like.

H E R E was a true sham Apparition now, form'd to establish a particular Sect or Society; and a particular Profession, concerning the immaculate Conception; here could the impatient Friars have set Bounds to their Revenge, they had a compleat Victory over the *Fransicans*. Nay, had St. *Francis* himself come up in Apparition on the other side, it would not have balanc'd the Cheat; for all the World began to give Credit to the Apparition.

B U T the Priests knew no Bounds; nothing would serve them but new Apparitions to the Friar, and new Mortifications to the *Fransicans*; 'till in short *Jezter* himself, as foolish and simple as he was, saw through it, detected the Cheat, and escaping out of the Monastery, discover'd it all to the Magistrates, having twice escap'd being poison'd by them; so the whole Fraud ended at the Gallows, or rather at the Stake, for the four Friars were condemn'd to be burnt, and were executed accordingly.

T H E History of the Discovery is not to my Purpose, it may be seen in many Authors, as also the Tryal, Sentence, and Execution of the Criminals at *Bern*. May 31, 1509⁶⁶, where they were all burnt together. But this Part is effectually to my Purpose, viz. that there has been, and I doubt not still is, a great deal of sham Apparition

impos'd upon the World by the Delusions of others; and as it lies chiefly among the Clergy, where must we look for it, but where it is to be found?

N O R are the Pagan Clergy free from the same vile Practices, namely, to forge Apparitions to confirm their Delusions; and the History of all Countries are full of Accounts of it, too many to repeat here. [sig. A4^b]

T H E Possessions and Exorcisms in the dismal Story of the *Devils of Loudon*, are full of Apparitions and Visions, by which the wretched Fraud was carried on, and by which so much Villainy was practis'd, as is almost without Example; a Story which has already fill'd a Book, and is extant in many Languages; a Fraud not out-done by the Brachmans⁶⁷ and Priests of the *Pagans* in *China*, or in *Japan*.

I M I G H T next entertain you with sham Apparitions put in Practice by the *Devil* himself, in those Countries where he has made himself be worshiped as a God, and where he supports all the Devil-worship by Apparition; showing himself now one way, now another, as he finds it for his Purpose; and appearing one Day in Fire and Flame, at another time in Storm and Tempest, at a third time in Humane and Familiar Shape; and in all the End is to keep up the Dread of his Person in Minds of his Worshipers, and to preserve a Reverence to his Institutions, whatever they are.

I F we may believe our Writers of Travels, and Observers of Things, the *Devil* not only assumes Humane Shape, but insinuates himself in the real Person of a *Devil* to the Women, and so possesses them, (to say no more of it) as to commit horrid nameless Wickednesses with them, such as are not to be suggested without Horror. In other Places, the Apparition of the *Devil* is the Fund of their religious Worship, and he has Altars erected, and Sacrifices, nay, which is worse, Human Sacrifices offered to him.

I N these horrid Performances, he appears in terrible Shapes, and the poor Natives are so frightened at him, that the Fear only excites the Homage which they pay to him, and secures to him an entire Sovereignty: for Fear, may, for ought I know, be the Characteristick of a Pagan Worship, as Love is that of a Christian. [sig., A5^a]

T H E great Temple of *Montezuma*⁶⁸ at *Mexico* was little else than a horrible Butchery of Humane Carcasses, the Blood of which lay sprinkled or dash'd against the Wall, 'till it lay there hardened and congeal'd, if Report may be believ'd, above a Foot thick, and that they sacrific'd at least twentythousand People a Year, in the one Pagode or Temple.

T H E *Indians* confess'd, that they had frequent Apparitions among them of Spirits, which they called by several Names; and that the Great Spirit, that is the

Devil, also appeared to them upon their Great Festivals, in bright and extraordinary Apparition; to approve and accept of their Worship and Homage, and not doubt of their Sacrifices too.

I N *Cochin China*⁶⁹ we are told⁷⁰ the *Devil* goes farther; for he not only shows himself in Apparition, but he utters lying Oracles, even himself in his proper Person, and also whispers such Answers to the Priests, as serve to keep up a Decorum in their Worship, and a secret Reverence to his Person. And Father *Borri*⁷¹ says, the *Devil* walks about there so frequently, and so familiarly in Humane Shapes, that they are not at all disturb'd at him.

A T other times, as the same Author affirms, they associate themselves with particular Persons, upon various Occasions, and especially with the Women, as above; so that, in short, in some Cities, which are very populous, it would be something hard to distinguish between the real People and the Apparitions. How far, if it were examin'd into, it would not be the like among us, I won't pretend to say.

W H O knows, in our Throngs of divided Christians, whether he meets with a Saint or an Apparition; whether he talks with a Counsellor or a *Devil*? and the art of discerning would indeed be well [sig. A5^b] worth having; indeed, it would be worth buying, if Money would purchase

it. The *Devil's* Disguises are very many, and Apparition is one of the best of them, because he can soon change Shapes, and change Postures, which in other Cases he may find less advantageous to his Interest. Nor is it easie for Mankind to come to the Certainty, even when he sees an Apparition, whether it be a Good or an Evil Appearance; and the best way of finding it out, except that of judging by the Errand he comes on, and which I have mention'd already, is to ask it the Question directly; if it equivocates and shuffles, conclude 'tis the *Devil*; for he is a Sharper, and a Dissembler from the Beginning: if 'tis a good Spirit, it will answer you directly and honestly, and tell you its Business at once; and this is what I mean, where I say, S P E A K T O I T.

I F you find it is a good Spirit hearken to it; if the *Devil*, defie it; and whether it be a good or evil Spirit, *fear it not*; for both are under special Direction and Authority of him that made the World, and will govern it, in whose Hands you are; and 'tis well it is so; For as Good is above Evil, so God is above the Devil. Tell him so, and bid him Defiance, and if you can but do it with a good Heart he's gone; depend upon it, he'll never stand you, *Probatum est*⁷². But I must leave off the religious Cheats, for they are endless; 'tis time to talk of

Apparitions of another nature, less serious, and less tiresome to hear of. [sig. A6^a]

C H A P. XV.

*Of Imaginary Apparitions, the Apparitions of Fancy,
Vapours, waking Dreams, delirious Heads, and the Hyppoⁱ*

A S the *Devil* is not so Black as he is Painted, so neither does he appear in so many Shapes as we make for him; we Dress him up in more Suits of Cloaths, and more Masquerade Habits, than he ever wore; and I question much, if he was to see the Pictures and Figures which we call *Devil*, whether he would know himself by some of them or no.

I T would require more Skill than, I doubt, I am Master of, to bring you all to a right Method of thinking upon this Subject; however I shall venture upon it by the way of Essay, that you may form such Images of the *old Gentleman* in your Mind, that you may not be cheated about him, may know him when you see him, may not call out of his Name, or bestow his Right Worshipful Titles upon another.

I T is observable, that tho' most People in all Parts of the World allow there is such a thing as a *Devil*, an evil Spirit, an Arch-Enemy of Mankind; and they are pretty near one another in their several Notions of him; for even those Savages that Worship him, acknowledge they

do so only that he may not hurt them; yet they differ exceedingly in their Ideas of his Person, and that almost every where; and accordingly it follows that they must differ in their Representations and Pictures of him.

[sig. A6^b]

S O M E Paint him one way, some another; and yet I observe that so little good Will they have for him any where, that they all Picture him as ugly, as monstrous, and as deform'd as they can.

I H A V E heard of some Pagans who worship a black Cloud for the *Devil*², because it often speaks in Noises, and breathes out Fire. I cannot say but for worshiping the Sun for a *God*, and the Thunder and Lightening for a *Devil*, seems to me to have more Sense in it than many of the other Branches of Idolatry in the World; the one being the most natural resemblance of the greatest Good, and the other of the greatest Evil in the World.

S O M E³, I am told, resemble or represent the *Devil* by a great Globe of Wood carv'd or cut all over into Mouths, describ'd in a thousand different Distortions, gaping, grinning, and voracious Figures; all intimating a greedy unquenchable Thirst or Appetite to devour and destroy; rolling itself continually about, so that some of its thousands of Mouths being undermost, are always gaping and biting, and taking in something, but ever unsatisfy'd, they rest of them gaping still for more. If

this hideous Representation is not just to his Form, I think verily it is just to his Nature, and is very Emblematick: the Thoughts it gives Birth to in our Fancy, may not be so remote as are form'd by those simple, Comick, and yet wou'd-be-frightful Draughts we draw of him; with a Cock's Bill, Ass's Ears, Goat's Horns, glaring Eyes, Batts Wings, cloven Foot, and Dragon's Tail; not one of which, except the last, having either Antiquity of Authority for them, that I know of.

I T'S true, he is describ'd in the *Apocalypse* as a great red Dragon⁴, and in another Place as a Beast⁵, but neither of them give us any true Idea of his real Form.
[sig.₂A7^d]

N O W if we do not know his Figure, how shall we know him in Apparition? for if we know nothing of his real Shape, how shall we judge of him in his Disguise? How shall we we single him out upon Occassion? Suppose we were to look for him at a Masquerade; For my Part I cannot deny but I might mistake him, and pitch upon a Priest, or a Turk, or a Tinker or a Tarpaulin⁶, and say this is the *Devil*, or that is the *Devil*, as soon as the real *Hydra-pater*⁷ himself, and let him pass perhaps for a *No-body* worth taking Notice of.

A S then, I say, we have such unguided Notions of him, and know him so little in any of his uncouth Figures and Disguises, 'tis not so much wonder we mistake every ugly

mis-shapen monstrous Thing, and call it by his venerable Name.

H O W often has poor unhappy shapeless Z ---- M----⁸ been started at, even in the open Day; nay, in the very Sun-shine? Bless me! says a fine Lady in the Mall, one Day as she pass'd him, sure that's the Devil: Why Sister, says she to the Lady that was next to her, did not you see it? I'll be gone, I am frightened out of my Wits: Why if I should meet it again, I shall sink into the Ground: I'm sorry I did not see him, says the Sister, for I want mightily to see the Devil; but I was happily better employ'd, for just that Moment Sir G ----- D -----⁹, that Glory of Heroes, the brightest of Men, went by me; my Soul flew along with him, dear Sister, 'tis hardly come back yet.

O! Y O U'R E happy, Sister, you saw a Heavenly, I an Infernal; you an Arch-Angel, I the Devil: let me go, Sister, for I am undone if I see him again; if I were with Child I should bring forth a Monster.

H E had not got twenty Yards farther, but a Knot of Ladies met him; it seems they were Ro- [sig. A7^b] *man Catholicks*, and they all cross'd themselves and look'd up to Heaven, said every one of them an Ave¹⁰ and a Pater¹¹, and went on as fast as they could.

A L A D Y big with Child had the Misfortune to be next, who was so frightened, she fell into Fits, went home,

and Miscarried; and lastly, which was more unhappy, just as he stept out of the *Mall*, at the turning to St. *James's*¹², he almost jostled another Lady that was nearer her Time, and she immediately call'd for a Chair, was carry'd away, fell into Travel, and died in Child-bed.

A N D yet this Piece of Deformity, this Scare Devil, Z ----- M -----, is an honest good-humour'd Fellow as lives, and I happen'd to see him soon after.

W H A T have you done, *Zach?* said I, was you in the Park to Day?

Y E S I was, says he. Why, what's the Matter, have any of the Ladies fallen in Love with me?

Y E S, yes, says I, you put the whole *Mall* in an Uproar.

I T H O U G H T so, says he; I knew I should have Admirers as much as other Beaus: Why not, pray? but let 'em die, I am Inexorable.

B U T do you know what Mischief you have done? said I in Earnest.

N O T I, says he, but I Suppose I may have frighted somebody or other with my *Devil's Face*; and what then? how can I help it? If they don't like me, they may look off o' me.

W H Y no, says I, it seems they can't.

N O, no, Beauty is attractive, you know, and so is Deformity, says he; if you meet a *Will with a Whip*¹³ you

can't look off it: They will look at me, they can't help it, and they look so long you see, that I fright every now and then one or two into Love with me. [sig.,A8^d]

H A R D Fate of the Sex, *said I, Zach.* that Men should be so scarce they must be in Love with the *Devil*. I am persuaded many of them take you for an Apparition.

T H A T'S a Sign of horrid Ignorance, *says he merrily;* why, he is not half so ugly as I am. 'Tis a Sign they don't know him; I tell you the *Devil's* a comely fellow to me, *Jack.*

T H O U art an ugly Dog, that's true, *said I,* but thou art the best-humour'd, goodest-natur'd Creature alive, *said I:* upon my Word, I'd be Z ----- M -----, though I frightened all the Ladies in the Park, to have half the Wit, and Sense, and good Humour that is cover'd with so much Deformity.

A N D I'd be any thing but two, *says he,* to be just tolerable to Mankind, and not fright the Horse I ride on.

B U T two! What two pray? *said I.* Are there two Things you wou'd not change for?

Y E S, *says Z -----,* I wou'd not be a *Fool* or a *Beggar;* but especially not the first.

N O W what is the Case of this unhappy Gentleman? 'tis quite the Reverse of what the Ladies take him for; one says he is the *Devil*, and another says 'tis the *Devil*, and another that 'tis an Apparition; and the last is

true. But, of what? not of the *Devil*, I assure you. Apparitions, they say, generally assume a different Likeness; the *Devil* never Masques in Deformity, an Angel may; the *Devil* often puts on the *Beau*, and the *Beauty*; he is to-day a smart young rattling Fop, to-morrow a Smirk¹⁴, a Spruce¹⁵, a Harlequin; to-day he is a devout Lady at Prayers, to-morrow a Coquet, a Masquer at the Ball; but 'tis all fine and clever: he very rarely puts on Ugliness, for that wou'd be no Disguise to him.
[sig., A8^b]

O N the contrary, when a bright Seraph dresses in Form, it takes up the Extreme of its Contrary; and a Divine and exalted Soul may put on the Habit of an unsightly Carcass, to appear in the World in a more compleat Masquerade; and thus it was with my Friend Zach.--- Ma---, his Outside was indeed a Masquerade to him, he was perfectly the Reverse of what he appear'd, and he had the brightest and sublimest Soul that ever was wrapt up in Flesh and Blood, in the Posture or Habit of something uglier to look on than the *Devil*.

I N a word, he was a *Devil* to the Imagination, for every body thought of the *Devil* when they saw him; went home and told their Maids and their Children they had seen the *Devil*, and told it over so often, 'till they believ'd it themselves, and so made a real Apparition of him, as it were by the meer force of his extraordinary Countenance.

Y E T the honest Gentleman had no Horns on his Head, no Cock's Bill, or a cloven Foot, I assure you; but he was meer Zach. M ----, as merry and as good-humour'd a Creature ever liv'd; full of Wit, Master of Learning, Temper, and a thousand good Qualities, without one bad one; nothing amiss in him, or about him, but his Outside, and as to that nothing so frightful in three Kingdoms.

N O W if meeting poor mortify'd merry Zach. M ----- should raise the Vapours among us, and from a little Jest at first, fright the poor Ladies into Miscarriage, Travel, and the Grave; make them go home, and say in Jest, they had seen the Devil, 'till they believ'd it in Earnest: what will not the like ungovernable Fancy, and Power of a frighted Imagination, prevail upon us to think or say?

A S O B E R grave Gentleman¹⁶, who must not wear a Name in our Story, because it was rather a Di- [sig. B1^a] stemper in his Mind than a real Deficiency of Brains, had, by a long Disuse of the sprightly Part of his Sense, which he really had no want of at other times, suffer'd himself to sink a little too low in his Spirits, and the let *Hypochondria* emit too strongly in Vapour and Fumes up into his Head. This had its Fits and Intervals; sometimes he was clear-sighted, and clear-headed, but at other times he saw Stars at Noon-day, and Devils at Night: In a word, the World was an Apparition to his

Imagination, when the *Flatus*¹⁷ prevail'd, and the Spleen boil'd up; of all which he could give no account, nor could he assist the Operation of Physick by any of his own Powers towards a Cure.

I T happen'd that he was abroad at a Friend's House later than ordinary one Night, but being Moon-light, and a Servant with him, he was easy, and was observed to be very chearful, and even Merry, with a great deal of good Humour, more than had been observed of him for a great while before.

H E knew his Way perfectly well, for it was within three Miles of the Town where he liv'd, and he was very well mounted; but tho' the Moon was up, an Accident which a little disorder'd him was, that it was not only cloudy, but a very thick, black Cloud came suddenly, (that is to say, without his Notice, so it was suddenly to him) and spread over his Head, which made it very dark; and to add to the Disorder, it began to rain violently.

U P O N this, being very well mounted, as I have said, he resolved to ride for it, having not above two Miles to the Town; so clapping Spurs to his Horse, he gallop'd away. His Man, whose Name was *Gervais*, not being so well mounted, was a good way behind. The Darkness and the Rain together put him a little out of Humour; but as that [sig. B2^b] [insert plate] was a little unexpected perhaps it made him ride the harder, rather than abated his Pace.

I N the Way there was a small River, but there was a good Bridge over it, well walled on both sides; so that there was no Danger there, more than any where else: But the Gentleman kept on his speed to go over the Bridge, when being rather more than half over, his Horse stopt on a sudden, and refus'd, as we call it, bearing off to the right hand; he saw nothing at first, and was not much discompos'd at it, but spurr'd his Horse to go forward; the Horse went two or three Steps, then stopt again, snorted, and stared, and then offer'd to turn short back; then the Gentleman looking forward to see what was the matter, and if he could observe what the Horse was scared at, saw two broad staring Eyes, which, as he said, look'd him full in the Face.

T H E N he was heartily frightened indeed; but by this time he heard his Man Gervais coming up. When Gervais came near, the first thing he heard his Master say, was --- *Bless me, it is the Devil!* at which Gervais, a low-spirited Fellow, was as much frightened as his Master. However, his Master, a little encouraged to hear his Man so near him, press'd his Horse once more, and call'd aloud to Gervais to come; but he, as I said, being frightened too, made no haste: at length with much ado his Master, spurring his Horse again, got over the Bridge, and passed by the Creature with broad Eyes, which (the

Light a little encreasing) he affirm'd positively, when he was pass'd, was a great black B E A R, and consequently must be the *Devil*.

T H O' Gervais was near enough, yet fearing his Master would set him to go before, he kept as far off as he could: When his Master call'd he answer'd indeed, but did not come on, at least did not make much haste; but seeing his Master was gone past, and that he himself was then obliged to fol- [sig.,B2^a] low, he went on softly, and when he came to the Bridge, he saw what it was his Master's Horse snorted at, and refused to go on; of which you shall hear more presently.

H I S Master's Horse being got past the Difficulty, needed no Spurs, but (as frightened Horses will) flew away like the Wind; and the Rain continuing, his Master, who on many Accounts was willing to be at home, let him go; so that he was at home and got into the House, long before his Man *Jervais* could get up with him.

T H E Master, as soon as he came into the Light, swoon'd away, and the Fright had had such an affect upon him, that when with much Difficulty they had brought him to himself, he continued very ill; and when his Lady, and a Sister he had in the House with him, as much over-run by the *Hyppo* as himself, came to enquire what had happened to him, he told them a formal Story, that at such a Bridge he met the *Devil*; that he placed himself

just at the coming off from the Bridge, on his left hand, at the Corner of the Wall; that he had stood and stared in his Face, and that he could distinctly perceive it was the *Devil* in the Shape of a *Bear*: He gave other Descriptions, so punctual and particular, that there was no room to doubt but that it was an Apparition, and that it was in the Shape of a great Bear.

G E R V A I S came home soon after, and going into the Stable directly, as was his Business, to take care of his Master's Horse as well as his own, there he told the Story his Way, among the other Servants, and especially two or three Grooms, and Servants belonging to Gentlemen that were Neighbours; and he tells them, that his Master was in great danger of being thrown over the Wall of the Bridge, for that his Horse was frighted at an Ass which stood just at the Corner of the Wall; and it was my [sig. B2^b] Fault indeed, says *Gervais*, for it was a young Horse, and I had never told my Master; but it was a Trick he had got that he could not abide an Ass, and would by no means come near one if he could help it.

A N D you are sure 'twas an Ass, *Gervais*? says the other Servants, staring at one another as if they were frighted: Are you sure of it? Yes, says *Gervais*, for as soon as my Master got by it, I rid up to it and thresh'd it with my Stick, and it fell a braying, which you know,

says *Gervais*, is a base ugly Noise, and so I came away and left it.

W H Y *Gervais*, say they, your Master believes it was the *Devil*, as really as if he had spoken to it.

I'M sorry my Master should be so frightened, says *Jervais*; but I am very sure it was nothing but an *Ass*. But the Story had gotten Vent, and the first Part of it flew all over the Town that Mr. ---- had seen the *Devil*, and was almost frightened to Death.

T H E N came his Man *Jarvais's* Tale, and made it appear that Mr. -----'s strange and wonderful Apparition was dwindled into an *Ass*, and that the *Devil* he had seen in the Shape of a Bear was no more than a poor *Borrico*¹⁸, as the *Italians* call him; this made his Master be laught at sufficiently.

H O W E V E R, poor *Jarvis* or *Gervais* was fain to turn out, and lost his Place for it; and the wise Mr. ----- to this Day insists upon it, that 'twas the *Devil*, and he knew him by his broad Eyes; tho' 'tis known that a Bear has very little Eyes: but 'tis impossible to persuade any Vapourish Body, that they have not seen the *Devil*, if they have but seen something, and they are very sure, they are not sure what it is.

I R E M E M B E R a Delusion almost as gross, the Memory of which I believe remains for a Truth to this day. Not far off of the Town of *Darking* in *Surrey*¹⁹, the

People, or some People rather, en- [sig.,B3^d] tertained a Notion, from the following Passage²⁰, that a Ghost walked in such a Place; that she (for it was an ancient Lady lately dead) was seen hovering about the Mansion-house which was left uninhabited for some time, that she would be up and down in the House very often, in the Day-time, making a rumbling, and a clattering Noise; and in the Night-time she walk'd in the neighbouring Fields with a Candle in her Hand, and that tho' the Wind blew ever so hard, it would not blow the Candle out; that sometimes she would appear in the open Field, sometimes up in the Trees, and particularly there was a little Heath near *Darking* called the *Cottman Dean*²¹, were it was said she was frequently seen.

T H E R E was a Boarding-school of Boys in that Town, where there was in particular some roguish *London* Boys, who contrived all this Walking from the Beginning to the End; First, they got a small Rope, and tying one end of it to an old Chair which stood in an upper Room of the House, (for they had found means to get in and out of the House at pleasure) they brought the other end of the Rope down on the Out-side of the House in a private Place where it could not easily be seen, and by this they pulled the old Chair up, and then let it fall down again, and made a great Noise in the House, so as it might be easily heard by the Neighbours; then other Boys of the

same Gang took care to call out to the old Women in the next Houses, that now they might hear the old Lady a playing her Pranks; and accordingly they would all assemble in the Court-yard, where they could plainly hear it, but not one would venture to go up Stairs. If any offer'd to go up a little way, then all was quiet again; but as soon as ever they retired, the rumbling would begin again: This was for the Day. [sig.,B3^b]

I N the Night, one of these unlucky Boys had gotten a dark Lanthorn, which was a thing the Country People did not understand, and with this he walk'd all about the Orchard, and two or three Closes near the House, sometimes shewing the Light on this side, and then all his Comrades calling all the old Women about 'em to see it, on a sudden the Light would go out, the Boy closing up the Lanthorn; and then he would run swiftly across the whole Field, and shew his Light again on the other side. Now he would be up in a Tree, then in the Road, then upon the middle of the Heath; so that the Country People made no more Question, but that the old Lady walk'd with a Candle in her Hand, than that they saw the Light of it; and in a word, it pass'd for an Apparition as certainly as we on the other hand knew what Knavery agitated it all.

I T must be confess'd that a dark Lanthorn, join'd with an Enthusiastick Head, might prevail to make such a Sham

take, with weak and bigotted People, and they were mighty willing to say before-hand that they were sure something walk'd.

W H E N they heard the Chair tumble about in the Chamber, tho' pulled by a String and no body near it, no nor in the whole House, the People who came together in the Court-yard, fancy'd often they saw Heads of People moving up and down the Room where the Noise was, and one said positively she saw a white Head-dress.

B U T to realize the Delusion, one cry'd out, There's the Spirit, there's the Ghost, just at such a Place of the Window; and affirm'd it stood close to the Glass, and describ'd it; another, as Moon-blind as her self, says, Ay, so it does, and points peremptorily to the Place, declaring that she sees it plainly; and thus they run away with it all together, that the Ghost walks and the House is haunted, and for a long time it is believ'd no other; when here [sig.,B4^a] was nothing but the mean Contrivance of a few Boys.

T H E Notion of Spirits appearing to discover where Money has been buried, to direct People to dig for it, has so universally prevail'd with Womankind, I might say and even with Mankind too, that it is impossible to beat it out of their Heads; and if they should see any thing which they call Apparition, they would to this Day follow it, in hope to hear it give a Stamp on the Ground, as

with its Foot, and then vanish; and did it really do so, they would not fail to dig to the Center (if they were able) in hopes of finding a Pot of Money hid there, or some Urn with Ashes and *Roman* Medals; in short, or some considerable Treasure.

A C O U N T R Y Gentleman²² had an old-built House, which was the Remains of an old Demolished Monastery or Religious House, and he resolved to have it pull'd down, but thought the Charge too much to bestow; so he bethought himself of a Stratagem, which was to give it out that the House was haunted, and this he did so artificially, that it began to be currently believ'd; for he made a Fellow dress himself up in White, and pass swiftly cross the inner Court of the House, just at a time when he had appointed others to be at the Window to see it.

T H E Y gave Notice to the House that there was an Apparition; then the Master and the Mistress and all the Family were called up to the Window, where, tho' it was so dark that they could not distinguish what he was, yet they plainly saw the thing in white go cross the Yard, and in at the Door of the old Building; soon after it was in they perceiv'd a Flash of Fire in the House, which was contriv'd that the Fellow should make with some Brimstone and other Materials on purpose, so that it should leave

a Stench of Sulphur behind it, but not be just the Smell of Gunpowder. [sig.⁷B4^b]

A S he expected, it began to work; some fanciful People having notice of it, and begin desirous to see the same Apparition, had the occasion offer'd them, and saw it in its usual manner of showing it self; its frequent walking was ordinary, at one part of the House where the Spirit had an opportunity to slip out at a Door into another Yard, and so into the dwelling House; and when it went off that way it gave a great stamp with its Foot, and immediately it was gone.

U P O N this it was presently said that there was Money hid, and the Gentleman gave it out that he would dig there for it, and mighty eager People were to have it done; however the Gentleman seem'd to cool in the matter: still the Apparition was seen to come and go, walk to and again, almost every Night, and ordinarily it vanish'd in a flash of Fire as above, which in a word was very extraordinary.

A T length some of the Towns People in the Village adjoining, finding the Gentleman began to slight or neglect it, gave out, that if Esquire ----- would give them leave, they would dig, for that certainly Money was hid there; nay if he would consent they should have it if they found it, they would dig for it and find it too, tho' they digg'd the whole House down.

T H E Gentleman reply'd, that was not fair for them to pull his House down and have all they found too, that was too hard; but he would consent to this, That provided they would carry away all of the Rubbish, and all the Materials which they dug down, and pile up the Bricks and Timber in the Yard near the House, and would be content with half they found, he would give them leave to dig.

W E L L, they consented, and to work they went; the Spirit or Apparition which appear'd at [sig.,B5^d] first seem'd to point out the Place, and the first thing they took down was a great stack of Chimnies, and a heavy piece of work it was; but the Gentleman, willing to encourage them, secretly hid seven and twenty Pieces of Gold in a hole in the Chimney, which had no entrance into it but one passage, which he Brick'd up.

W H E N they came to this Money they were perfectly deluded, and out of their Wits; the Gentleman happen'd to be near, but not just upon the Spot when it was found, and he being call'd, very frankly gave it them all; but upon Condition they should not expect the like, if they found any more.

I N a word, this Bite made the Country Fellows work like Horses, and more came into the knot; but that which encourag'd them farther was, they did really find several things of Value in the pulling down the House, which perhaps had lain hid from the time of Demolishing it as

a religious House; and some Money was found too; but continual expectation and hope of finding more so animated the Fellows, that in short they pull'd the whole House down; nay, I might say they pull'd it up by the Roots, for they dug up the very Foundations, which was what the Gentleman desir'd, and would have given a great deal of Money to have had done.

N O R did they leave the House in a heap of Rubbish; but, according to his Agreement with them, they carried the Materials away, and set up the Timber and old Bricks in an adjacent Yard as he directed them, and in good order too.

S O violent was the Persuasion, that (upon this fancy'd Apparition walking in the House) Money was hid there, that nothing could stop the eagerness of the Country People in working; as if the Souls of the old Nuns or Friars, or whatever they were who had hid any Treasure there, supposing any was hid, could not be at Rest, as was said in [sig.,B5^b] other Cases, or could be any way concern'd for the finding it so many Years afterwards, being almost two hundred Years.

I F they could suppose any thing so weak, where must they suppose those Departed Souls or Ghosts could have been, during all that time? and why did they not appear before? what had all the Ages before done to be so much less in their Favour, that they did not come to discover

this Money to them? but that the Deposit should remain under Ground so long, without any enquiry after it, 'till this Age, not at all any more worthy than their Ancestors, should be inform'd of it.

T H E R E is not a thing in Nature so generally receiv'd, which has so little Foundation, either in Reason or Religion, either in Nature or common Sense; it seems not only absurd, but ridiculous; there is not only no religious Reason in it, but it is inconsistent with it self: what seems only wonderful and unaccountable in it is, that such gross things should make up such Impressions, and that it should be so impossible to beat it out of the Heads of the possess'd People.

I F you should offer to tell them that no hidden Money was ever thus discover'd, they would laugh at it as the greatest Jest imaginable, and tell you there were five hundred Examples to the contrary; and yet in all my Search after those things, and after evidence of Fact, I cannot arrive to one Example, where ever an Apparition directed to the finding Money hid in the Ground or Earth, or any other place, and that any Authentick Voucher has been brought to prove it. I know there have been many, perhaps thousands, of such Stories told, and the Particulars are handed down with them; but I say I never met with any Authentick Proof of the Fact, such as the Story might be told after them for Truth, and that a Man

might say without Blushing that he [sig.,B6^d] believ'd it. And let us enter a little into the usual manner in which those Tales are related, there seems to be something so weak and silly in the telling, as if it was only calculated for Children and Chimney corners: for Example; the Apparition is call'd a Ghost, 'tis dress'd up (to suit the weakness of the Imagination) in a Shroud, as if it came just out of the Coffin and the Church-yard, and as if the Habit of the Dead was assum'd, to posses the People with the Fancy of its being really the dead Body of the Person, and yet allow it at the same time to be a Spirit.

W E L L, when it comes, and (be it what you will) forms it self Apparition, all in white, and in a Shroud; what is next? it says nothing to you, but goes away before you; and perhaps speaks and bids you to go or come along with it, or perhaps without speaking at all, leading and beckoning the Parties they have appear'd to, to follow them, and then stamping with the Foot it disappears at once.

T H I S Stamp with the Foot is reckon'd to be a Direction to you to dig just there, in order to find some extraordinary Treasure; and he would be reckon'd very stupid and sordidly dull that should neglect the Direction, and not dig there; and many a vain and

fruitless Pit has been dug on such occasions, to no purpose at all.

B U T that I may not declare my Infidelity in these things in an unreasonable manner, and disbelieve without any just Reason; let me give you a long Story²³, which seems to be left upon Record, of a Pedlar in the Town of -----²⁴ in *Suffolk*²⁵, a Story believ'd as certainly as the Gospel; and which it would be thought very absurd for any one to question the Truth of.

T H E R E was a Pedlar, *says the Story*, who us'd to travel about the Country with his Pack, but [sig. B6^b] kept a Chamber or Ware-house in the Market-Town for the depositing and laying up of some Goods which he had there, and which were too many at a time to carry them all about with him.

I T happen'd that this Man being abroad late, and coming home with his Pack, sat himself down upon a Stile, resting his Pack at the same time for his Ease: while he sat there, there came up to him a Ghost, in the Appearance of a Woman dress'd as above; she came up to him with a smiling Countenance, and when she discover'd her self she stept backward, and holding up a fine white Hand beckoned to him with a Finger to follow her.

T H E Pedlar, frighted as he was, immediately follow'd the Apparition; (what he did in the mean time with his Pack that's a gap in the Story, which Tradition has not

supply'd;) the Apparition leads him in this manner, going backward and beckoning with her Hand over two or three Fields, 'till it came to a particular place, where there lay a great Stone, and there giving a stamp with its Foot vanished.

T H E Man takes the hint, marks the Stone, goes home to carry his Pack, as we ought to suppose, and comes out the next Night with a Spade and a Pick Axe, and goes to work to dig a great Pitt in the Earth.

H E had not dug far it seems, (tho' the Story does not say exactly how far) but he found a large Chest; I say large, for it could not be a small one, by what you shall hear presently.

H E doubled his Diligence when he came to the Chest, and with great Labour at length got it out of the place; and we may suppose was not long before he found means to split it open, and get into the inside of it to see the Contents; for he found it very heavy when he labour'd to get it out. [sig.B7^a]

I N a word, he found the Chest full of Silver, that is to say, full of Money; then keeping his own Council, he took care to deposite it so, that by some and some he got the Money all safe home, and after that carried the Chest home also.

W H A T the Sum was that he found here, the Story is not particular in; but it seems the bulk was such, that

the Pedlar thought fit to leave off his travelling about the Country as a Pedlar, takes a House in the Town, furnishes himself a Shop, and becomes a settled Inhabitant and Shop-keeper. During his appearing in this Figure, it happen'd that the Parish Church being exceedingly old and out of Repair, the Parishioners, (whether by order of the Diocesan upon a Visitation, or by the voluntary act and deed of themselves the Parishioners, I know not,) resolv'd to Repair the Church.

I N order to furnish the needful Sums for this good Work, they call a Vestry, and propose a Subscription of the Inhabitants, for supporting the Expence; so the Minister and the Church-Wardens go about from House to House to see what the Charitable Parishioners would contribute, and among the rest they at length came to the Pedlar's (now Shop-keeper's) House, and he being told their Business desires them to walk in.

A F T E R some Discourse, and perhaps treating his Neighbours, he asks for their Roll or Subscription Paper, in order to subscribe; looking over the Roll he sees Sir *Thomas* ----- five Pounds, another Gentleman five Pounds, another ten Pounds, another forty Shillings, and so on: Come, says he, give a poor Pedlar the Pen and Ink; Will your Gentry subscribe no more than that? so he takes the Pen, and subscribes some five and twenty Pounds.

S O M E time after this, having Occasion to make a Hatch²⁶ to his Shop-Door, as in the Country is very frequent, it happen'd, that sending for a Work-[sig.,B7^b] man to make his Hatch, and looking about among his old Lumber, he found nothing so proper as the old Chest that the Money was found in, and accordingly a Hatch was made of it.

A-W H I L E after this, as the Pedlar was sitting in his Shop, he observ'd an Ancient Gentleman who liv'd in the Town, and who had the Reputation of a Scholar, and particularly of a great Antiquary, stood poring very earnestly, with his Spectacles on, upon his new Hatch: This brought the Pedlar to the Door, who after waiting a good while to see what it was the old Gentleman had discover'd, at last he ask'd him what it was he found upon his new Hatch, that was worth so much of his Notice.

T R U L Y Neighbour, *says the Gentleman*, what I observe is very remarkable, tho' I cannot tell the Meaning of it; and I suppose 'tis in a Character that you cannot easily read, as well as in a Language you may not understand.

T H E Pedlar desir'd he would read it to him.

W H Y, *says the Gentleman*, you do not understand it, when I have read it.

B U T Sir, *says the Pedlar*, can you not tell the meaning of it in *English*?

W H Y, *says the old Gentleman*, it is the old *Saxon English* in the ancient Gothic Character, and it may read thus,

*Where This once stood
Stands another twice as good.*

H U M ! *says the Pedlar*, that's old stuff indeed: what can it signify?

N A Y, *says the Gentleman*, that I don't know, for who can tell where this stood?

A Y, who indeed? *says the Pedlar*: and if they did, what can there be in that? [sig.,B8^a]

T H E Y had a little more Chat of that kind; but in short *the Pedlar* got rid of the old Gentleman as soon as he could, and began to ruminate upon the thing; *where this stood!* Why I know well enough, *says he to himself*, where this stood; I must go and see it, it may be there is some more of the same.

B U T then he argued, why this is so many Years ago (six or seven at least, it seems) and if it was a Ghost or Spirit that show'd me the way to it, I warrant she has show'd some body else the way to the rest: Indeed I did not deserve it, that I did not look farther when I was at it; to be sure it's gone by this time.

T H U S he argued himself almost out of the thing again, 'till at length he told his Wife of it, who it seems had been in the Secret before.

W H Y, are you mad, says *she*, why don't you go immediately to the place?

N A Y, says *he*, I don't know whether I can find it again or no, now.

W H A T, says *his Wife*, must the Devil come to show it you again? sure you an't so dull, but you may find it again.

W E L L, the Man went however; indeed his Wife drove him out almost, Go, try, says *she*, you can but come without it.

H E goes, and found the place in general, but could not distinguish the particular Spot, which was levell'd partly by himself when he fill'd up the Hole again, and partly grown up with Grass and Weeds; so he comes back again, and tells his Wife, he could not tell which was the Place, so as to be particular enough to go to Work.

W E L L, says *his Wife*, go in the Night; I warrant you the good Devil that show'd you the first will put you in some way to find the rest, if there is any more.
[sig.,B8^b]

S O prevail'd with by his Wife's Importunity away he went, and I think they say his Wife went with him; being come to the Place, the Apparition appear'd to them again,

and show'd them, in the same manner as before, the very Spot; and then vanish'd.

I N short, the Man went to work, and digging a little deeper than he did before, he found another Chest or Coffe, bounded about with Iron, not so big as the other, but richer; for as the first was full of Silver, so this was full of Gold.

T H E Y carry'd it home with Joy enough, as you may suppose, and opening it, found (as above) a very great Treasure. Fame has not handed down the Sum; but something may be guess'd at by the latter part of the Story, *which is told thus.*

I T seems that all this while the Repair of the Church (mention'd above) went on slowly; according to the old Saying, *it was Church-Work*; and a Vestry being call'd upon some other Church-work, the Pedlar, who was present among the rest of his Neighbours, took occasion to complain, that he thought the Business was not honestly manag'd, that it was indeed like *Church-Work*, carried on heavily.

S O M E of the Gentlemen took him up a little, and told him, he took too much upon him; that it was none of his Affair; that he was not in Trust for the Work; that they to whom it was committed knew their Business, and that he should let it alone, and mind his Shop.

H E answer'd, it was true, that he was not trusted with it, if he had, it should have been finished before now; and that he had a right to complain, because he paid to it as well as other People; adding, that if they did not dispatch, he would complain to the Bishop, and obtain another Visitation. [sig.₂C1^d]

T H I S alarm'd the People entrusted, so they gave him good Words, and told him, the truth was, the Parish Stock was almost gone, and that they had not Money to go on, 'till the Gentlemen would come into a second Collection.

S A Y you so? says the Pedlar; there may be some Reason in that; you can't go on indeed without Money; but pray how much do you want?

T H E Y told him it would cost near two hundred Pounds more to finish it, and do but indifferently neither; for the Roof wanted to be taken off, and they feared the Timber was rotten, and would require so much Addition, they were afraid to look into it.

I N a word, he bid the Church-wardens call a Vestry upon the particular Affair, and he would put them in a way to finish it.

A V E S T R Y was call'd; the Pedlar told them, that seeing they were poor, and could not raise Money to go on with it, they should leave it to him, and he would finish it for them.

A C C O R D I N G L Y he took the Work upon himself, laid out near a Thousand Pounds, and almost new-built the Church; in Memory of which, on the Glass-windows, there stand the Figures of the Pedlar and his Pack, and (as the People fancy) there is also the Apparition beckoning to him, to come to the Place where he dug up the Money.

T H U S far the Story. How Tradition came to hand it down to us in this manner, and so turn it into a Fable, I have nothing to do with; but the real and more probable Part of the Tale is recorded thus.

T H A T there was a *Pether*, so the old *English* calls him, that is a *Pedlar*, who having long used to travel up and down the Country with his Horse, and his Wife, and himself, all three loaded with their Goods, and going from House to House for many Years, was grown rich, by his Industry; and that being too old to continue the laborious [sig.,C1^b] Part, he took a Lodging, first in the Town, and sold his Goods in a Chamber, and in the Markets only, but afterwards took a House and a Shop in the Market-place, and drove a great Trade.

T H A T growing thus to be very rich, he contributed, upon their first coming about for a Subscription, twenty five Pounds towards the Repair of the Church; and after that, finding they wanted Money to finish it, took the Work wholly in his own Hand, and finish'd the Church at his own Charge; and that the Parish, in Gratitude to his

Memory, caused the Figure of the Pedlar to be painted upon the Glass, where the Pedlar and his Pack is represented in one Place travelling about the Country, by which he got his Living.

I N another Place, there are Workman digging the Foundation of the Church, and the Pedlar giving them Directions what to do, and how to proceed; and in another, the Church is built up a great way, and almost to the Roof, and the Pedlar still directing.

I N another Place, an Angel is painted standing by the Pedlar, and pointing with a Rod or Staff in his Hand, to a Place where the Pedlar sets two Workmen to dig.

N O W from the Pedlar's being grown so unexpectedly rich, common Fame it seems rais'd a Report, that he had found a Chest of Money in the Ground, and after that another. It seems also, there is an Original for the two Verses too, which is thus: when the Pedlar had first contributed twenty five Pounds towards building the Church, and yet the Parishoners told him, they could not go on for want of Money; he told them they should not be discourag'd, he had given them one Bag of Money, and, says he, *where that stood, stands another twice as good*: I'll do it my self. [sig.₂C2^d]

H E N C E they thought the Pedlar must certainly have found some Money that had been hid in the Ground, and that the Devil had discover'd it to him; and so came the

whole Story to grow up by little and little into the Form as I have told it; and now to confirm it farther, they tell us the Angel, which perhaps might be but indifferently painted on the Glass, or on the Wall of the Church, is taken from the Ghost that discover'd the two Chests of Money to the Pedlar, and is showing where to dig for it.

T H U S the Story of an Apparition is handed on to Posterity, and now 'tis currently believ'd in the Country, almost as the Gospel; and any Man would be thought very bold, that should pretend to contradict it, or to say that it is not true in every Particular.

I F all the Stories of Apparitions leading People to dig for Money, were as well trac'd as this, I believe they might be found as plainly fictitious. Invention has been mighty fruitful upon this particular kind of Notion, that when Money is hidden some Spirit or Apparition will discover it; as if the Souls of those that hid the Money were disturb'd, 'till it was found out and made use of.

H O W absurd the very Suggestion it self is, I can hardly think worth while to speak of it again; but there are other Difficulties in it also, if an Apparition knows of and discovers this Money.

1. W H Y not discover it sooner? Why let it lie in the Ground, sometimes two or three hundred Years before it

has been discover'd? and then an Apparition comes, from none knows where, to bring it to light.

2. W H Y is the Discovery made to a Stranger, and not to some of the Line or Race of those to whom the Money did first belong? One would suppose the Apparition came, or was sent, or di- [sig.₂C2^b] rected to come, to do Justice, and to give the Money lost to the right Owner; whereas these Discoveries are often pretended to be made to Strangers, who have no Claim or any Right to it, or any Relation to those who laid it there; and this indeed is unaccountable, and makes the rest of the Story improbable to be true.

3. I F Ghosts, or Apparitions, and Spirits, or call them what you will, are thus officious, and busy to discover Money hid in the Earth, so as to run up and down to Strangers, who are no way related to it, or to the Race or Families who were first concern'd in it; Why then do they not discover all the Money that is thus deposited in the Dark? and which no doubt is yet in great Quantities, lodged out of the Reach of Mortal Sight, and of which we find frequent Discoveries²⁷ made; as particularly a great Parcel of old Gold, found lately in the digging up of the old Foundation of a House in *Oxfordshire*²⁸. A great Parcel of *Roman* Gold Coin and Medals found this very Year, in digging up an old Vault in *France*, and which must have lain there a thousand

Years at least, and no kind Apparition came to discover it in so long a time.

M A N Y such Examples are daily shown us of Money found Under-ground, without the Help of the *Devil*, or of any Apparition, Spirit or Ghost, to discover it, and which had lain, ever since the Time of the *Romans*, conceal'd and unknown.

F R O M all which Reasons I must conclude, that the departed Spirits know nothing of these things, that it is not in their Power to discover their old Hoards of Money, or to come hither to show us how we may come at it; but that it short, all the old Women's Stories, which we have told us upon that Subject, are indeed old Women's Stories, and no more. [sig.^dC3^d]

I C A N N O T quit this Part of my Subject without observing that, indeed, if we give up all the Stories of Ghosts and Apparitions, and Spirits walking, to discover Money that is hid, we shall lose to the Age half the good old Tales, which serve to make up Winter Evening Conversation, and shall deprive the Doctrine of Souls departed coming back hither to talk with us about such things, of its principle Support; for this indeed is one of the principle Errands such Apparitions come about.

I T is without Doubt, that Fancy and Imagination form a world of Apparitions in the Minds of Men and Women; (for we must not exclude the Ladies in this Part,

whatever we do) and People go away as thoroughly possess'd with the Reality of having seen the *Devil*, as if they convers'd Face to Face with him; when in short the Matter is no more than a Vapour of the Brain, a sick delirious fume of Smoke in the Hypochondria; forming it self in such and such Figure to the Eye-sight of the Mind, as well as of the Head, which all look'd upon with a calm Revision, would appear, as it really is, nothing but a Nothing, a Skeleton of the Brain, a Whymsey, and no more.

*So Hypochondriack Vapours represent
Ships, Armies, Battels, in the Firmament:
'till steddly Sight the Exhalation solves,
And all to its first Matter Cloud dissolves²⁹.*

I T is out of Question that the Imagination forms a great many of these Visions in the Heads of the People that relate them again to us; and they as firmly believe them to be real Apparitions, as I believe them to be nothing but Vapours and Cloud. But on the other hand it cannot be deny'd, but that there is a strange Forwardness among our People [sig.,C3^b] to propagate, nay, to raise and invent such Stories of Apparitions and Visions; to furnish them out with popular Circumstances, and to spread them as Realities, meerly and on purpose to from

a plausible Relation; and perhaps some, according to Custom, fall into that old School-boy's Error, of telling the Tale over so often, 'till they believe it to be Truth.

B U T all this Fiction and Fable, of which the World is so full, does not at all lessen the solid Part which I first advanc'd, and still insist upon, viz. The Reality of Apparitions in general; for the fruitfulness of other Mens Imagination in coining Falsehood, does not at all lessen the Validity of a Truth which the Lie is made to Mimick and Counterfeit.

W E have a world of Tales impos'd upon the World about Apparitions shewing themselves to abundance of People, *before, at, and after the late Massacre in Ireland, Ann. 16,1³⁰*, and it would fill up a Volume of itself to give an Account of them; nor is it possible to distinguish between those of them that are Real, and those that were Imaginary, especially at this Distance of Time; but if I may believe the Report of those that were upon the Spot, and of others who receiv'd the Accounts from the most Judicious and most Considering of those who were upon the Spot, the Fears and Apprehensions of the People, especially in *Dublin*, where they expected the Murtherers would break in upon them every Day, fill'd them with Dream and Phantasm, Vision and Apparition, when indeed

there was nothing in it but their own dreadful Apprehensions.

N O R could they be so much blam'd as in other Cases, for here were People escap'd from the Murtherers, even out of their very Hands; some that had seen their Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, [sig. 2C4^d] Husbands, Neighbours butcher'd before their Faces; and no Wonder if these had the Images of Death before their Eyes, after they arriv'd; no Wonder if they had Apparitions and Visions of the like Mischiefs every Hour.

N O Wonder if they saw Clouds of *Irish Armies* in the Air, heard Shrieks of dying murther'd Women and Children, and that they vouch'd these things with the utmost Solemnity. Now 'tis true in the common Notions of Humanity, one cou'd not but pity those poor People, and give allowance to their Fears, and to the Fright and Horrors that were upon their Minds; yet it does not at all follow that we, who are not under the same Impressions, must come into the Delusion with them, give up our Understanding and our Reason to their imagin'd Visions.

W E are to judge of those things by the Rules of which we ought to judge in like Cases, and after you have made Allowances for the Terrors and Fright which the poor People might be in then, we should consider the rational Part, for where the Apparition is real, the Rational Part

is always apparent as well as the Visionary Part: for Example,

W H A T Apparitions came from a good Hand, and for the good of the innocent People, whose Dangers where so imminent, would certainly come in some Space of Time before the Danger, either so as to give Opportunity of Escape, or at least Preparatory Warnings, that the People might have time to look up to Heaven, which the butchering Enemy would not spare them; and such Apparitions as these I should be inclin'd to give the most Heed to; but of these we read of very few.

O N the other hand, to what Purpose could Apparitions show themselves afterward? and from whom did they come? If the Souls of the mur- [sig.₂C4^b] ther'd Protestants cou'd appear and cry for Revenge, why did they not all appear, as well as one Woman³¹ and *Bandon-Bridge*³¹? Why did they not haunt the Murtherers in a most frightful manner, and terrify them Night and Day, 'till they brought their own Guilt to be the worst of Apparitions to them?

W H Y did not the Terror of Blood lie upon them, like a constant *Devil* harassing their Souls, and terrifying them 'till they were made their own Executioners? We saw none of these Things happen either to them, or to the Murtherers, Actors and Directors of the *Parisian* Massacre. *Charles IX.* King of *France*, by whose Direction

it was all manag'd, died as compos'd, without any Repentance for it, as if he had never been concern'd in it; calmly giving Directions for the Administration of Affairs of the Government after him, and told his Mother how to act with the Hugonots, 'till his Brother the King of *Poland* would arrive.

I N *Ireland* the Priests and Zealots, nay the very Women, boasted of the Number they had kill'd; show'd their Skeins or Daggers with which they cut the Throats of the Protestants; one so many, and another so many; their Soliders fought as fearless after it as before, nor did any Apparition haunt them, that ever I met with any Account of.

O N the other hand, for the *Devil's* disturbing them, I see no Reason in it; the *Devil* was not at all displeas'd with the Fact; what should he disturb them for? he wou'd rather appear to assist them, encourage them, harden them in it, take all Remorse from them, and reproach them with Cowardice if they shew'd the least Inclination to Pity; tho' I don't hear of the least Blame the *Devil* himself could lay upon them of that kind.

A S to Apparitions after it was over, I do not see Room to think them so much as Rational; [sig.₂D1^a] there was not the least Occasion of them, or Use for them; the Mischief was done; what could the invisible World have to say to any body about it after it was done? We do not

read of any Apparitions, Voices, Noises, Signs, or Wonders at *Jerusalem* after the Temple was destroy'd, tho' above a Million of People are said (by *Josephus*) to have perished there. There were Signs and horrible Noises, Apparitions and Voices before it, in several Places, but none after it; the miserable Dead lay quiet in their Heaps, *Graves they could not be call'd*, and gave neither their Friends or Enemies any Disturbance.

T O conclude: The sham Apparitions which People put upon themselves are indeed very many; and our Hypochondriack People see more *Devils* at noon-day than *Galilæus* did Stars, and more by many than ever really appear'd. But this no ways Impeaches the main Proposition, viz. That there are really and truly Apparitions of various kinds; and that Spirits or Angels (call them what we will) Inhabitants of invisible and empty Spaces, do visit us here upon many Occasions, either for Good or Evil, as He who made them is pleas'd to direct.

T H E general End and Design of Providence in suffering such things, and the Use and Application to our selves, which we are directed to make of them in common Prudence; how far they are, or are not mercifully restrain'd from hurting us, and even from terrifying and affrighting us, if our Reason could be our Governour in such Cases, with a great Number of Examples in Story of the effect of such

Apparitions as have been allow'd to visit Mankind, whether peaceably or otherwise; these would take up a great deal more room: But I am run my length in the present Relation, and the Reader must be content to draw Consequences for himself from what is said, to guide his Judgement in [sig.,D1^d] the variety of such Cases as may happen: his only way, in our Opinion, is to keep an even pace between Apprehension and Contempt; neither to fear or desire them; but resolve to act with the Calmness and Courage of a Christian, in whatever may be his Case.

B U T above all I would beg my reading merry Friends of the *thoughtless kind* not to be so much surpriz'd at the Apparitions of their own Brain; not to start and be frightened when they first make *Devils* by Day-light, and then see them in the dark; and as they may be assur'd they will hardly ever see any thing worse than themselves, so let them resolve not to be scar'd at Shadows, or amus'd with Vapour; mistaking the *Devil* for an Ass, and tell us of the Saucer Eyes of a Pink-eyed Bear; not fancy they see a Hearse with headless Horses, and take the Night Cart for a fiery Chariot, which one would think they might distinguish by their Noses, unless they will own that their Fear gave them a worse Smell than that of the *Devil*.

F I N I S . [sig.,D2^a]

END NOTES

Title Page

1. Source unknown.

Introduction

1. Source unknown.
2. A Spirit free to choose, for
my own share,
What case of flesh and blood
I please to wear.
("A Satyre Against Mankind," lines 3-4)
The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, ed.
David M. Vieth. Yale UP: New Haven, 1968. p.94.
3. Joseph Glanvill (1636-1680) divine. DNB Vol. 7,
p.1287-88. Most important to this work were his
publications on ghosts and witches.
4. A person of Sadducean disposition; a
materialist, a denier of the resurrection. OED, p.352.
5. Defoe may have had this story from George
Duckett when he visited him in 1705 [from Baines'
endnotes, this information is from: Defoe to Robert
Harley, ca. November 6, 1705, in Letters, p.111]. Defoe
and the Supernatural, p.85.

Chapter One

1. Book Four of Paradise Lost.
2. These two verses are in reverse order, "*the
Word of the Lord came to Abraham in a Vision*" is in verse
1. "*The Word of the Lord came to Abraham*" is in verse 4.
3. John 1:32.
4. Source unknown.

Chapter Two

1. Whose army (literally force).
2. Luke 1:19.

Chapter Three

1. Source unknown.

2. Job 1:16.
3. Job 1:17.
4. ibid.
5. Job 1:18.
6. Job 1:9-10.
7. Job 1:11.

Chapter Four

1. A shrub possessing a high degree of irritability, causing the leaflets of the bipinnate leaves to fold together at the slightest touch. OED, p.985.

2. Source unknown.
3. Judges 6:11-16.
4. II Samuel 24:16.
5. Matthew 1:18-25, Luke 1:5-25 and 2:1-20.
6. Mark 1:13 and Matthew 4:11.
7. Verses 5-8.

8. One finds it also related by many that a soothsayer bade him prepare for some great danger on the Ides of March. When this day came, Cæsar, as he went to the senate met the soothsayer, and said to him by way of raillery, 'The Ides of March are come,' who answered him calmly, 'Yes, they are come, but they are not past.' Plutarch's Lives: The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, Vol.II. trans. Dryden, ed. and revised by Arthur Hugh Clough. Modern Library, New York: 1992. p.239-40.

9. Flavius Claudius Julianus, born A.D. 332. Son of Julius Constantius and half brother of Constantine was a devoted believer in the old pagan religion. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p.567-8.

10. Official Roman diviners, forming a collegium which consisted originally of three but was gradually increased to sixteen members....Their business was not to foretell the future, but to discover through observations of signs, either casually met with or watched for,

whether the gods did or did not approve a proposed action. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p.147.

11. To operate on with a trepan; to saw through with a trepan, as a bone of the skull. A trepan is a borer or a surgical crown saw. OED, p.486.

Chapter Five

1. Henry More, in his section in Glanvill's Saducimus Triumphatus, writes that a spirit is an immaterial substance intrinsically endued with life and the faculty of motion. God unites the spirit with the body, which is merely a material substance devoid of perception, life, and motion without the spirit (p.141). He is probably the "writer" whom Defoe mentions.

2. Transition from one state or condition to another; esp. passage of this life by death. Also... Passage of the souls at death into another body; metempsychosis. OED, p.415.

3. Thomas Burnet is connected with this sect.

4. I Samuel 7:19.

5. Numbers 23:1-11.

6. Toward the man.

7. From the dead (or lower ones).

8. Numbers 24:19.

9. Actually, the reference is from Luke 9:31.

10. Luke 16:19-31.

11. Luke 15:11-32.

12. Matthew 25:1-13.

13. Actually, the reference is from Jude 9.

14. Matthew 26:53.

15. I Samuel 28.

Chapter Six

1. Source unknown; this is particularly difficult because at first he says that he had "heard" it (p.2),

and at the end he says "I have seen it in Manuscript" (17). So unless we find a written source, we will not know for sure where this originated.

2. Lapland is a region which forms the most northerly portion of the Scandinavian peninsula, now divided politically between Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the Soviet Union. Evidently this area is notorious for witches. OED, p.649-50.

3. A native language of the region of central Asia extending eastward from the Caspian sea, and formally known as independent and Chinese Tartary. First known in the west as the mingled host of Mongols, Tartars, Turks, etc. which under the leadership of Jhengiz Khan (1202-1227) overran and devastated much of Asia and Eastern Europe; hence vaguely applied to the descendants of these now dwelling in Asia or Europe; more strictly and ethnologically, to any member of the Tatar or Turkic branch of the Ural-Altic or Turanian family, embracing the Turks, Cossacks, and Kirghiz Tartars. OED, p.651.

4. Gothenburg (in Swedish Göteborg) is in Western Sweden near the shore across from Denmark. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.77.

5. Danzig is in Northern Poland on the Baltic sea. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.78.

6. Rügen is an island off of the coast of Northern Germany, what was then West Pomerania. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.19.

7. Stralsund is a port city on the coast of Northern Germany, what was then West Pomerania, directly across from Rügen. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.78.

8. Pomerania is one of the germanic countries that was unified into what we now know as East Germany. It is on the northern coastal area. At one time it was divided into East and West Pomerania. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.79.

9. A commercial denomination of weight, capacity, or quantity, varying for different kinds of goods and in different localities. OED, p.671.

10. Stettin (now Szczecin) is a coastal city in West Pomerania, now Poland. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.77.

11. The Oder River runs from the Baltic Sea, down along the boundary of the Country of Pomerania, and through Poland. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.11.

12. Probably Kitzingen in central Europe, in an area marked Würzburg, although this is relatively far from the northern coastal towns. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.41.

13. The name and exact location of this bridge is unknown.

14. see note #8, ch.6.

15. (now called Malbork) in North Poland, a section that was once Prussia. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.54.

16. Prussia was north of Poland in present day East Germany. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.77.

17. Königsberg (since 1946 called Kaliningrad) is in West Russia, originally in Prussia near the coast of the Baltic Sea. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.75.

18. Probably St. Petersburg in Russia near the Gulf of Finland. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.85.

19. A small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop, and employed in carrying passengers and goods, particularly in short distances on the sea-coast. OED, p.457.

20. Frisches Haff is a bay in the Baltic Sea near Königsberg. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.41.

21. In what was then Livonia, and is now Latvia, Riga is situated on the coast of the Baltic Sea. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.77.

22. A city in Prussia on the mouth of Frisches Haff Bay. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.36.

23. Haff is German for Lagoon. English-German, German-English Dictionary, p.625.

24. A Russian. Now rare. OED, p.292.

25. A caftan.

26. Near the border of Poland in Lithuania. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.85.

27. A city in Livonia (West Russia). Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.39.

28. The Duchy of Courland is in Livonia. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.39.

29. Hind is listed in The Dictionary of National Biography, but there is no mention of an apparition (Vol. 9, p.893).

30. There is a Stangate listed in the History of the County of Huntindonshire (vol.3, p.130) only as by a wood, in between Upton Hanger and Copmanforth. There is no mention of a Stangate-Hole.

31. Three miles north of York. The Topographical Dictionary of England, Vol.2.

32. A case or bag for carrying clothing and other necessities when traveling; originally of a form suitable for carrying on horseback; now applied to an oblong stiff leather case, which opens like a book, with hinges on the middle of the back. OED, p.157.

33. A rope with a noose for hanging malefactors. OED, p.1051.

34. Originally synonymous with gallows, in later use signifying an upright post with [a] projecting arm from which the bodies of criminals were hung in chains or irons after execution. OED, p.499.

35. Source of story is unknown. However, Defoe says that he read it and that it is about people in another country.

36. Aix-la-Chapelle (in French) known as Aachen in Germany, this city is located in West Germany, it was at one time in the Belgian borders. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.98 & 119.

37. A type of small bomb with a fuse that you light and throw.

38. There is no mention of the story of King James of Scotland (1473-1513) available; however Rodney Baines tells us that it was a popular tale (Defoe and the

Supernatural, p.75). It is possible that Defoe had been told it.

39. Linlithgow is in the Lothian area of Scotland, about half way between Glasgow and Edinburgh, it is not far from the Firth of Forth. Muir's Historical Atlas Medieval and Modern, p.28.

40. An illuminator of manuscripts or a painter, esp. a portrait-painter. OED, p.968.

41. French for 'clod or lump.' The Bantam New College French and English Dictionary, p.214. It is unknown if he is referencing an actual person.

42. The Tweed River is in Scotland. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.3.

43. A town in Lothian, southeast of Selkirk. Muir's Historical Atlas Medieval and Modern, p.14.

44. James Douglas 14th Earl of Morton (1702-1768) one of the first trustees of the British Museum. DNB, Vol.5, p.1236.

45. Known as Xerxes, King of Persia 519-465(4) B.C.

46. A couple of lines of verse, usually making complete sense. OED, p.855.

47. May that day be happy, the beginning of the following (day) is unknown whether it bring struggle or repose, thus passes the glory of the world.

48. George Buchanan (1506-1582) historian and scholar. DNB, Vol.3, p.186-93.

49. In northern England, very near the Scottish border, the battle at Flodden Field was fought in 1513 in a British attempt to subdue the Scots. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.73.

50. Encourage. OED, p.4.

Chapter Seven

1. I Samuel 28:15.

2. The office or department of the public service, which is charged with the receipt and custody of the

moneys collected by the several departments of revenue. OED, p.503.

3. Individual unknown.

4. One who or that which testifies: a witness. OED, p.830.

5. An endowment for the maintenance of one or more priests to sing daily mass for the souls of the founders or others specified by them. Also applied to the body of priests so endowed. OED, p.22.

6. Of position: In the rear, behind; in the background. Of time: behind us in time, past and gone. OED, p.647.

7. Acts of violent robbery or pillage. OED, p.189.

8. Source unknown, all that Defoe tells us is that he heard the story. Although Rodney Baines (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.79) informs us that there are several similar stories available to Defoe that have slightly modified details.

9. In Thomas Taylor's Second Part of Thomas Beard's Theater of God's Judgement (4th ed. [1648], pp.69-70). Defoe and the Supernatural, p.78.

10. First mentioned in 1257, the church was attached to the monastery of Christchurch Canterbury and was thus a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury under the jurisdiction of the Court of Arches at St Mary Le Bow. The church was destroyed in the great fire and the parish united with that of St Mary Le Bow. The small churchyard remains in Pancras Lane. The London Encyclopedia, p.753.

11. Probably Martinique, an island in the French West Indies. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.171.

12. Roanne is a town on the Loire River in Burgundy. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.17.

13. Judges 17:6, 18:1, 19:1, 21:25. Also a reference to Cromwell's Commonwealth Interregnum.

14. To cleanse, purify (a person, a city) from guilt or pollution by religious ceremonies. OED, p.567.

15. A market town and parish in the county of Kent, 22 1/2 miles from London (E. by S.). The Topographical Dictionary of England, V.2.

16. A large rowing boat having a tilt or awning, formerly used on the Thames, esp. as a passenger boat used between London and Gravesend. OED, p.94.

17. A light rowing-boat used chiefly on rivers to carry passengers and goods. OED, p.219.

18. (Lower Thames Street) Famous for fish and bad language. For many centuries Billingsgate and Queenhithe were the main wharfs in the city for the mooring of fishing vessels and landing their cargoes. Queenhithe was at first the more important but Billingsgate gradually superseded it, masters of ships preferring to use the wharf below London Bridge rather than attempt its awkward passage. Stow thought its name was derived from 'some owner of the place, happily named Beling or Biling'. The London Encyclopedia, p.65.

19. A boat or vessel, usually a flat-bottom barge, used in lightening or unloading (sometimes loading) ships that cannot be discharged (or loaded) at a wharf, etc., and for transporting goods of any kind, usually in a harbor. OED, p.936.

20. An ancient quay of upper Thames Street where there has been a dock for at least eight centuries. It was originally known as Ethelredshyde after King Alfred's son-in-law, the Alderman of Mercia. Its present name is in honor of Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, who in the early 12th century built here, for the 'common use of the citizens.' In the Middle Ages it was the most important docking place in London but it declined in the 15th century as boats became larger and went instead to Billingsgate. The London Encyclopedia, p.631.

21. The chief market place of medieval London. (Ceap or chepe was the Old English word for market.) It was sometimes know as West Cheap to distinguish it from Eastcheap. Cheapside was infamous for its brawling apprentices. There was also a pillory in Cheapside. The London Encyclopedia, p.143.

22. Once an important route from Cheapside market to Queenhithe dock. It was the site of the bread market of medieval London. The street was burnt in the Great Fire. The London Encyclopedia, p.83.

23. Previously known as Cordwainer Street after the shoemakers who lived here, then as Hosier Lane after the Hosiers that succeeded them. The present name is after the church of St Mary Le Bow and dates from the 16th century. The London Encyclopedia, p.80.

24. Where the soapmakers and seller used to live. The London Encyclopedia, p.630.

25. (Charing Cross) A tavern kept in the reign of Charles II by Samuel Prior, uncle of Matthew Prior, the poet who, after the death of his father, came to live with his uncle who sent him to Westminster School. In the 18th century the tavern was also known as New Bagnio. The tavern was burned down in 1750. The London Encyclopedia, p.685.

26. Knight, Alderman of the City of London, and President of Bridwell and Bethlem Hospitals, his dates are 1615-1692. An Elegy on the Death of Sir William Turner.

27. Source unknown, people unknown. The details in it are very specific, so it could be an actual story.

28. Col. James Hamilton (d. 1716) second in James Douglas, Earl of Arran's duel with Lord Mohun. Charles Hamilton (1691-1754) James' son, challenged Lord Mohun over his father's death.

29. Charles Mohun (1675?-1712) 4th Baron of Mohun and duelist. DNB, Vol.13, p.552.

30. Source unknown, however since Beverly is a borough market town and military outpost near York (Topographical Dictionary of England, V.1.) the story is likely to be recorded, or at least retold in wives tales, there.

31. A borough market town in York County, often used as a military headquarters. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.1.

32. Probably Old Exchange Lane.

33. Also known as the Old Exchange or Old Change, in the southside of Cheapside [west] used for the receipt of bouillon and the minting of coins. Survey of London.

34. Individual unknown.

35. Two towns that were revitalized as part of an experiment and turned into industrial commercial weaving towns. Dr. Borck (7-97).

36. James Radcliffe (also Radclyffe) 3rd Earl of Derwenter (1689-1716). DNB, Vol.16, p.569-71.

37. I believe that Defoe wishes for us to fill in the blanks with people that we know. I do not believe that he has three specific people in mind.

38. I believe that Defoe is doing the same thing here as he was in the previous note. Again, I do not believe that he has specific people in mind.

39. The DNB has several possibilities as candidates for *Sir W----- B-----d*. The two best are Sir William Beckford (1709-1770) twice Lord Mayor of London DNB, Vol.2, p.80-2 and William Boyd 4th Earl of Kilmarnock (1704-1746) DNB, Vol.2 p.1009-1010.

40. Perhaps a reference to Ecclesiastes 11:3.

Chapter Eight

1. Matthew 27:52.

2. Sight must be deceived.

3. Source unknown.

4. Source of song unknown.

5. A spiritless coward; a mean-spirited, worthless wretch: a craven. OED, p.46.

6. Psalms 124:7.

7. Source unknown, Defoe says it's a "Historical Relation."

8. Irregularly used of a woman's first or second marriage. *Obs.* OED p.513.

9. A cylindrical stone used for crushing, flattening, etc., especially in the form of a heavy roller. OED, p.55.

Chapter Nine

1. Paula Backscheider, in her biography of Defoe, indicates that Adam Blackadder's Coffeehouse was one of

two places where one could subscribe to Defoe's Edinburgh Review (1708). Daniel Defoe, p.262. However Rodney Baines, in his book Defoe and the Supernatural, claims that this story actually happened to Defoe himself (p.76-7) and his apprentice named Beacon (p.25). Defoe signed a bill of charter with Humphry Ayles, who sailed to several ports in America (Backsheider, p.50). Backsheider also mentions that a Joseph Beaton in Boston had been a neighbor of Defoe's and was connected to his business ventures (p.50). Rodney Baines reminds us that the relation of Beacon/Beaton concerning this death was sent to Defoe in manuscript (p.77) and is reprinted supposedly word for word in this chapter. Baines goes on to state that this same story, in a different form, had been in Cotton Mather's Wonders of the Invisible World (1693) on pages 79-81, as well as several other books, but holds strong to the presumptive evidence that Defoe had the letter from Beacon/Beaton himself (p.78). Cotton Mather's account contains several very curious items. The visitation is dated May 2, 1687 (Defoe does have this) and Mather records that Joseph Beacon, at 5:00am, saw an apparition of his brother. Mather states that he received the story from Beacon personally. Mather's account contains more detail as to what happened to Beacon's brother.

2. The DNB has two strong possibilities for these initials: Ambrose Barnes (1627-1710) Vol.1, p.1167 or Adam Blackader (fl.1674-1696) Vol.2, p.576-7. Both were merchants.

3. Extends eastward from Temple Bar as far as Ludgate Circus. In medieval London it was a main thoroughfare named after the nearby Fleet River which now runs under Farrigdon Street and New Bridge Street. The London Encyclopedia, p.284.

4. Named after Salisbury House, over whose grounds it was built. Salisbury Square: Known as Salisbury Court until the late 19th century, it was never an architecturally planned square. It partly covers the sight of Salisbury House, the town house of the Bishops of Salisbury from the 13th century until the 17th when it was passed into the hands of the Earl of Dorset. The London Encyclopedia, p.768-69.

5. Book 23, lines 93-94.

6. This is a very poor rendition of that which appears in Book Six of the Aeneid. Defoe probably set it down from memory. Either his memory is inexact, he learned it from a corrupted source book, or he is quoting

from another author. This quote begins roughly at line 316 and continues through about 383.

7. Lines 83-91.

8. See chapter 9, note # 5.

9. Book 23, lines 95-97.

10. Book 23, lines 122-125.

11. Actually, it is Book 11, lines 741-744.

12. Book 11, line 744.

13. This word is actually a contraction, used in Homeric Greek. The first part of the contraction is the word: "εἶδος" meaning appearance, shape form, etc. (also nature, species, and the act of seeing). It is related to the verb "εἶδω" meaning to look or appear, here used as a noun. The second part of the contraction is the word: "ὅλον" meaning whole, complete, or all. When the words are combined, the "ς" is dropped from the end of the first word forming "εἶδὼλος" (nominative masculine singular) meaning the whole appearance. Homeric Greek explains: 1) the vowel assimilation and the dropped end consonant and 2) the incorrect or unconventional form of the word. Christina Vallery.

14. Book 22, lines 618-619.

15. Book 23, lines 87-88.

16. Book 23, lines 27-35.

17. Book 23, lines 224-225.

18. Book 23, lines 226-231.

19. There are too many T.S. initials in the Dictionary of National Biography to be able to narrow it down to any one person, or even group of people. Not to mention the fact that he may not even be in the Dictionary.

20. A aged boatman named Charon ferries the souls of the dead across the water to the farther bank [of the underworld]. [Greek] Mythology, p.39.

21. One of the three rivers of the Greek underworld, the river Styx is the river of the

unbreakable oath by which the gods swear. Mythology, p.39.

22. Pertaining to the river Styx, or, in a wider sense, to the infernal regions of classical mythology. Infernal, hellish. OED, p.1007.

23. On guard before the gates [of Hades] sits Cerebus, the three-headed, dragon-tailed dog, who permits all spirits all spirits to enter, but none to return. Mythology, p.39.

24. The goddess of love and beauty, who beguiled all, gods and men alike; the laughter loving goddess who laughed sweetly or mockingly at those her wiles had conquered; the irresistible goddess who stole away even the wits of the wise. Mythology, p.32.

25. Book 23, lines 115-118.

26. Plutarch does tell the story of the murder of Clitus (Vol. I p.179-181), but not of the haunting of Alexander.

27. Plutarch tells of a vision or body, but does not connect a name to this specter. "Thus one night before he [Brutus] passed out of Asia, he was very late all alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, all the rest of the camp being hushed and silent; and reasoning about something with himself and very thoughtful, he fancied some one came in, and, looking up towards the door, he saw a terrible and strange appearance of an unnatural and frightful body standing by him without speaking" (Vol. I p.596). The vision reappears later in the story, this being the part that Defoe is referencing, "the same night, they say, the vision appeared again to Brutus, in the same shape that it did before, but vanished without speaking" (Vol. I, p.605). According to Francis Bacon, the spirit said to Brutus at the first appearance, "Philippis iterum me videbis [Thou shalt see me again at Philippi]" (p.97). Shakespeare identifies the vision as Cæsar's ghost in Julius Cæsar (Act. 4, scene 3), but does not have him actually reappear, we merely hear about it from Brutus before he kills himself, "The ghost of Cæsar hath appear to me/Two several times by night-at Sardis once,/And this last night here in Philippi fields" (Act 5, scene 5, lines 20-22).

28. Painting unknown.

29. Alaric, a Visigoth leader (died A.D. 410), lead his people from lower Moesia in 395, devastated Greece,

and in 401 entered Italy...he besieged Rome three time in the years 408-410. There is no mention of an apparition. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p.33.

30. Story unknown.

31. Radagaisus led the invasion of Italy in 405/6 and was executed in Florence August 23, 406. Goths and Romans 332-489.

32. People inhabiting East Asia whose various tribes formed a single empire from 209 B.C. to 160 A.D. They intermarried with the Turks and eventually inhabited Turkistan. The second "phase" is the one most remembered, the period in Europe when Attila was their leader (445 A.D.). This was when they were the most serious threat to the Romans. The Early Empires of Central Asia.

33. One of the Mongol hordes, along with the gothic and hunnish tribes. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.31.

34. This country at one time extended from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. By the early 1800's it had been reduced to a small country that bordered Hungary, Bosnia, Servia, and Croatia. It was founded by the Sclavi, a Tartar or Scythian tribe. The World, p.463.

35. Early principality of West Russia. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.172.

36. Stilicho (d. 408) was the regent for the Roman Emperor Honorius. Goths and Romans 332-489.

37. The whip/scourge of God.

38. Jeremiah 32:3.

39. Story unknown.

40. John Aubrey (1626-1697): Antiquarian. DBN vol.1, p.716.

41. Knowledge of events before they happen. OED, p.389.

42. There is no mention of this story in the Bible, therefore the source is unknown.

43. See Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed Oliver Lawson Dick, Secker and Warburg: London. 1949. p. 29-30.

44. Sir John Borough (d.1643) order of the Garter, King of Arms. DNB, Vol.2, p.863-4.

45. This story's source is unknown; however, Rodney Baines (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.75) believes this to be a story popular in Defoe's time. He may have heard it.

46. Crowned in July 1429, he was the king restored to the throne by Joan of Arc. Contemporary Chronicles of the 100 Years War.

47. Le Mans is the chief city in the French province of Maine. Contemporary Chronicles of the 100 Years War, p.326.

Chapter Ten

1. "This be your wall of bliss, to have to guilty secrets, no wrong-doing that makes you turn pale" from Horace, Epistles, I, i, 60-61.

2. See chapter 9, note # 43.

3. Individual unknown.

4. The Dictionary of National Biography mentions that John Bouroughs, Jr. was knighted by King Charles II, but does not give any other information about him. DNB vol.2, p.863.

5. Source unknown, all we know is that he read it.

6. Actually, it is I Chronicles 21:16.

7. This reference is from Isaiah 37:36, but there were 185,000 slain, "Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they rose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."

8. Source unknown, all we known is that he heard it.

Chapter Eleven

1. Rodney Baines (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.76) asserts that the dreamer of this dream is probably Defoe, himself. He draws this conclusion from the fact that a tradesman, specifically, had the dream. He does not give any other reasons as to why he believes it to be Defoe's dream. It is especially curious since Defoe

writes that he heard the account directly from the dreamer. Either Baines is incorrect in his guess, or Defoe misrepresented the source for some reason, i.e. embarrassment, concerning the nature of the dream. For more discussion of this story and its connection with the Political History of the Devil and Moll Flanders, please refer to the introduction.

2. Source unknown, all that we know is that the gentleman who dreamt this dream told Defoe.

3. Rodney Baines (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.78) believes this dream, also, to have been one that Defoe actually had, rather than the "intimate friend" that Defoe asserts as his source. He does not given any reason for his assertion. For more discussion of this story and its connection with the Political History of the Devil, please refer to the introduction.

4. Source unknown.

5. Source unknown.

6. To fill the hollow in the lead with tallow in order to discover the nature of the bottom by the substance adhering. OED, p.742.

7. The length covered by outstretched arms, including the hands to the tip of the longest finger; hence, a definite measurement of 6 feet. OED, p.762.

8. An officer (now only on a merchant vessel) who sees to the execution of the commands of the master or commander, or of his intermediate superior, and in the absence of the master takes the command of the ship. OED, p.462. [This is the definition for 'mate,' so the individual who holds the position of second mate, would be beneath the first mate in command].

9. A turning out or getting out (of bed, etc.); hence, a call to duty, esp. during one's period of rest. OED, p.715.

10. Unlocated as of yet. There is no listing in the most current the Oxford English Dictionary for this combination.

11. Originally a smaller deck situated above the half-deck covering about a quarter of the vessel. In later use: that part of the upper or spar-deck which extends between the stern and the after-mast, and is used

as a promenade by the superior officers or cabin-passengers. OED, p.995.

12. An officer in a ship who has charge of the sails, rigging, etc., and whose duty is to summon the men to their duties with a whistle. OED, p.345.

13. A short raised deck at the fore end of a vessel. In early use raised like a castle to command the enemy's decks. OED, p.46.

14. To head, keep a course, bear up; drift, said of sailors and of ship. OED, p.859.

15. Helm: The handle or tiller, in large ships the wheel, by which the rudder is managed; sometimes extended so as to include the whole steering gear. OED, p.123. Lee: Implying motion to leeward [which is: The sheltered side of any object; hence the side (of a ship, the land, and eminence, etc.) that is turned away from the wind] OED, p.790. So the phrase should mean, to turn the steering mechanism toward the sheltered side of the boat or to shelter the rudder.

16. On or to the opposite tack. OED, p.38.

17. To lay it aback; To brace the yard so that the wind may blow directly on the front of the sail, and thus retard the ship's course. OED, p.859.

18. To sail away from the shore. OED, p.502.

19. A unit of measurement, about 100 fathoms; in marine chart 607.56 feet, or one-tenth of a sea mile. OED, p.749.

20. The impact of the stern of a boat against the stern or side of another boat in front of it. OED, p.650. [In this case it would be the boat's stern hitting the shore.]

21. A place where the water is of little depth; a hallow; a sand-bank or bar. OED, p.291.

22. A recess or inlet of the sea, or the mouth of a river, affording good anchorage and a safe station for ship; a harbor, port. OED, p.21.

23. The water that by some interruption in its course, runs contrary to the direction of the tide or current. OED, p.66.

24. Archaic plural of cow. OED, p.442.

25. This story is very likely an incident that actually happened to Defoe himself. He had been in politically hot water over his pamphleteering concerning the Test Act and had been dodging the authorities for some time. Paula Backscheider records this story in her biography on Defoe. The only notable difference is the year (1703, not 1701), but Defoe may have changed that on purpose. "Defoe was finally caught on 21 May at the house of a Spittlefields weaver. According to the 21-24 *London Post*, two messengers seized him" (Daniel Defoe: His Life, p. 105).

26. High Barnet (Hertfordshire) Situated on a hill ridge north of the Brent valley, High or Chipping Barnet (sometimes simply referred to simply as Barnet) lies on the Great North Road, midway between London and St Alban's. Its name derives from the Saxon *baernet*, a burning or conflation, which suggests its origins in the burnt clearing of an area of ancient forest that stretched through much of Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex. By the end of the 17th century a new road had been made from Hadly Highstone, just north of Barnet, to Hatfield, and the coaching trade became important for Barnet as the first stage out of London, servicing over 150 coaches a day. The London Encyclopedia, p.375-6.

27. An inland county, bounded on the north by the county of Cambridge, on the north-west by that of Bedford, on the west by that of Buckingham, on the south by that of Middlesex, and on the east by that of Essex. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.2.

28. Robert Davis was Defoe's favorite Brother-in-Law. Daniel Defoe: His Life, p.108.

29. Trent Park (Barnet, Hertfordshire) Formerly part of the ancient royal hunting forest of Enfield Chase. The London Encyclopedia, p.890.

30. Before 1881 Southgate formed part of Edmonton parish. It occupies high ground overlooking the Lea valley on the east and Barnet valley on the west. The London Encyclopedia, p.802.

31. Now part of the London Borough of Haringey, the former Borough of Hornsey (created in 1903), lies three to six miles north-west of London at the eastern end of the Northern Heights. The London Encyclopedia, p.394.

32. In late Anglo-Saxon times called Gislandune (Gisla's hill), and in *Doomesday Book*, Isendone and Iseldone, when its land in the forest of Middlesex was held by the canon's of St Paul's. Islington, being outside the City, was a refuge during plague outbreaks and after the Great Fire. It was also the resort of Dissenters...From Charles II's reign non-juring clergy settled round Newington green, setting up meeting houses and schools, such as Charles Morton's academy where Daniel Defoe and Charles Wesley were educated. The London Encyclopedia, p. 413.

33. A sentry, guard. OED, p.995.

34. Source unknown except for the fact that Defoe states that he heard this story from the young man's Lieutenant.

35. A region of northern Belgium. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.163.

36. Lucius Ann[a]eus Florus is generally held to be identical with Florus the poet-friend of Hadrian and with P. Annius Florus, author. His work Epitome is an abridgement of Roman history and a favorite school book in the Seventeenth Century. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p.442.

37. This story does not appear in Lucius Florus' Epitome, although I do not know where it does appear.

38. Rubico/Rubicon: a reddish stream flowing into the Adriatic and marking the boundary between Italy and Cisalpine Gaul. In 49 B.C. Julius Cæsar, after some hesitation, precipitated civil war by crossing it. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p.938.

39. Source unknown.

40. Thomas Hay (1710-1787) eighth Earl of Kinnoull. DNB, Vol.9, p. 275.

41. Sir George Hay (d.1758) seventh Earl of Kinnoull. DNB, Vol.9, p. 260.

42. Saying unknown.

43. "La coup" is a blow (p.80) and a "baton" is a stick or cane (p.30), so literally this means "the blow of the stick." Bantam.

44. A knight of mediæval romance who wandered in search of adventures and opportunities for deeds of bravery and chivalry. OED, p.495.

45. Either Warwickshire or Wiltshire. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.4.

46. Anglo-Saxon in origin, the name appears in the *Doomesday* survey of 1086 as Chenesit, one interpretation of this being Cynesige's farm. The parish, the boundaries of which corresponded fairly closely to those of the old metropolitan borough, was largely rural in character and was noted for its market gardens and nurseries in the southern part...The north was mainly arable and, along with the rest of Middlesex, supplied hay to the London market. The London Encyclopedia, p.423.

47. The present components of the Anglo-Saxon parish of Hampton, so named for the Saxon words describing the position of the first settlement - the farm in the bend of the river. Transformed into a royal palace for Henry VIII. By then Hampton Court resembled a village, most of it within the walls, but with some houses, offices and workshops outside. The London Encyclopedia, p. 358.

48. A lodge in Bishopsgate. The London Encyclopedia, p.306.

49. Source unknown, all we know is that his source assures him that it had never been in print.

50. A Bishopric in East Germany. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.170.

51. A city in East Germany. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.168.

52. A region of northern Germany. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.178.

53. Any small building in a garden. OED, p.368.

54. An inhabitant of a burgh, borough, or corporate town. OED, p.667.

55. Source unknown.

56. The Great Fire of London September 2-6, 1666. The Timetables of History, p.305.

57. There were three wars that England waged against the Dutch 1652-4, 1665-7, 1672-4. The struggle was over trade and who would control the waterways on which both countries depended. Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century.

58. Dr. Jeremy Taylor D.D. (1613-1667) Bishop of Down and Connor, administrator of Dromore. DNB, Vol.19, p.422-29. The DNB mentions the Taverner episode (referenced from Glanvill's Saducimus Triumphatus) on p.426.

59. The Massacre at Paris (1572) was the result of three religious wars between the Catholics and Huguenots. The Catholics, led by Charles IX and the King of Navarre (later King Henry IV), against Admiral Coligny and his supporters. The beginning of this massacre was the murder of Coligny at his home in Paris. A Brief Account of the Several Plots, Conspiracies, and Hellish Attempts of the Bloodyminded Papists, p.33-42.

60. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France 1519-1572. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France.

61. There is no mention of the three dreams of warning that Defoe claims Coligny had of his own death.

62. Although there is no good match, it is likely Defoe is thinking of Charles de Quellenec, Marquis de Soubise and Baron du Pont. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France.

63. Saumur is a city on the Loire River in the Anjou region. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.17.

64. Navarre is a region in northern Spain. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.172.

65. Gabriel de Lorges, Huguenot and follower of Coligny who escaped death in Massacre of Paris. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France.

66. Jean de Ferriers, Seigneur de Maligny, Huguenot and follower of Coligny who escaped Massacre of Paris. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France.

67. There is no mention of a Vidame de Caversac by this title. He could have gone by another title or by his given name. In any case, it would appear that he, too, was a Huguenot and follower of Coligny who was not murdered during the Massacre at Paris.

Chapter Twelve

1. Source unknown, all we know is that he probably heard the story from the woman herself since he tells us that she is a woman of "his acquaintance."

2. The only match for these initials is a Sir John Owen (1600-1666) in the Dictionary of National Biography, but he is not a good match judging by the biographical data as compared with the story Defoe relates.

3. Source unknown.

4. This seems to be a combination of two meanings of the word: 1) To swell with anger or irritation; to get out of temper, take offence and 2) To hector, bully; to scold, chide, storm at. OED, p.464.

5. Probably a Roman forged pathway, or perhaps even road, in the Alps.

6. From earliest times it was a fortified garrison, occupied by the Romans (known as Brigantium), perhaps even earlier by the Greeks. It is located in the southern Alps in the province of Dauphiné. The Waldenses, p.174-5.

7. Dauphiné is in the south of France, just north of Provence. The Rhône River flows through this region. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.52.

8. Source unknown.

9. Mentioned in Joseph Glanvill's Saducimus Triumphatus (1681), page 225-228. Parker was the name of the servant to the Duke, according to Glanvill, and Parker told the story to Henry Ceeley, a fellow servant. It is also mentioned in Aubrey's Brief Lives, Vol I., p.205, but there is no mention of a ghost, only an account of the murder of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton. For location of the story on the apparition see Chapter 12, note 25.

10. George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628). Favorite of James I, but reportedly had no benefit to king except his looks and personality. He was the second richest nobleman in England. Parliament tried to impeach him several times because of his close relationship with James I and Charles I. Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick, p.342.

11. Edward Hyde 1st Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674) historian. DNB, Vol.10, p.370-8.

12. Source unknown.

13. The story of the Apparition of James Haddock to Francis Taverner appears, among other places, in John Glanvill's posthumous Saducimus Triumphatus: or Full & Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions. J Collins, London: 1681. pt.2, p.270-284. This story is taken from a letter from Thomas Alcock to Henry More.

14. Individual unknown, except as mentioned in this story in Glanvill's Saducimus Triumphatus: or Full & Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions.

15. Taverner was a servant at large, and afterwards porter, to the Lord Chichester, Earl of Donegal at Belfast. Saducimus Triumphatus. p.270.

16. Actually, these are two separate books: Rule and Exercises of Holy Living (1650, 12mo) and Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying (1651, 12mo). DNB, Vol.19, p.427.

17. Perhaps, Anne Conway, Viscountess (d.1679) DNB vol.4, p.975.

18. Hillsborough is southwest of Belfast. Ireland: The Rough Guide, p.533.

19. Individual unknown.

20. Probably Hillsborough Castle, also known as Hillsborough House. Ireland: The Rough Guide, p.533.

21. A town in Northern Ireland, just southwest of Belfast. Muir's Historical Atlas Medieval and Modern, p.49.

22. John Felton (1595?-1628). DNB, Vol.6, p.1171.

23. A sea-port, borough, market-town, and parish in the Portsdown division of the country of Southampton. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.3.

24. George Villiers (1st Duke of Buckingham) attempt to relieve the besieged garrison and Rochelle (a town in France) in 1628.

25. See Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick. Secker and Warburg, London: 1949. p.296-7.

26. Mr. Nicholas Towes (no dates available) is mentioned in Clarendon's account. See chapter twelve, note #26.

27. Sir George Villiers (d. 1606) father of the Duke of Buckingham (also George Villiers). Sir George was Sheriff of Leicestershire in 1591. Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick. p.383.

27. See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, ed. W. Dunn Macray. Clarendon Press, Oxford: reissued 1992. p.51-55.

28. Sir Ralph Freeman (fl.1610-1655) civilian and dramatist, married a near relation of Buckingham's. DNB, Vol.7, p.680-1.

29. (Westminster-Lambeth) The first mention of a horse ferry here is in 1513. It was one of the few places on the river where a coach and horses could cross. In 1633 the bridge sank under the weight of the Archbishop Laud's belongings when he was moving into Lambeth Palace. Oliver Cromwell's also sank in 1656. On December 9, 1688 Mary of Modena escaped via the ferry, with the infant Prince James, to France. The London Encyclopedia, p.443.

30. The name 'Whitehall' is of Tudor origin and was originally applied only to the northern part of the present thoroughfare between Holbein Gate and Charing Cross. The narrow central section was known simply as 'The Street', whereas the part south of the point where Henry VIII built King Street Gate in 1532 was called King Street. A narrow route connecting Charing Cross to Westminster existed in medieval times. By the 16th century it was a residential street and several eminent men lived here in the 17th and 18th centuries. The London Encyclopedia, p.958-9.

31. Born Mary Beaumont (1567-1632), she was the waiting-gentlewoman in the house of Lady Beaumont before she married Sir Edward Villiers. DNB, Vol.20, p.325.

32. He was the Countess of Buckingham's third husband. DNB, Vol.20, p.325.

33. Although Defoe tells us this is from Aubrey's Brief Lives, I have not yet been able to find an unabridged copy to identify where the story is located.

34. Daubney Tuberville (1612-1696) physician who specialized in eye diseases. DNB, Vol.19, p.1247.

35. No mention of Tuberville's sister in the Dictionary of National Biography.

36. Panel-work of oak or other wood, used to line the walls of an apartment. OED, p.815.

37. Source unknown.

38. This line actually reads, "It is appointed unto all men once to die, but after this the judgement."

39. Defoe tells us that his source told him the story of Dr. Scott and it has never been in print previously. Rodney Baines (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.79-80) points out that there are similar stories popular at the time. He points out an analogue to this story from A Strange but True Relation (London, 1678, p.5). We still do not know the identity of Defoe's source.

40. There are two men who could be this Dr. Scot: 1) Cuthbert Scot D.D. (d.1564) Bishop of Chester (Vol.17, p.953) or 2) John Scott D.D. (1639-1695) divine (Vol.17, p.979). DNB. Dr. John Scott is the more likely candidate.

41. [known now as Old Broad Street] The ancient Broad Street used to run to London Wall from the Mansion House along the route of the present Threadneedle Street. From the reign of Queen Elizabeth I until the 17th century it was a fashionable place to live. The London Encyclopedia, p.558.

42. Possibly Zachery Grey (1688-1766) antiquarian and dissenter. DNB, Vol.8, p. 661-2.

43. The lines are from "Rochester Extempore" (1670?)

And after singing Psalm the Twelfth,
He laid his book upon the shelf
And looked much simply like himself;
With eyes turned up, as white as ghost,
He cried, "Ah, Lard! ah, Lard of Hosts!
I am a rascal, that thou know'st!"

From: The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. ed. David M. Vieth. Yale UP: New Haven, 1968. p.94.

44. Jakob Bohme (1575-1624) who was very influential to English Quakers and Pietists.

45. Individual unknown.

46. The DNB lists seven possibilities, but it is likely that this man was not considered by the Dictionary.

47. Judgement, sentence; deliverance of opinion. OED, p.717.

48. Perhaps a garbled version of Job 35:15 ("knoweth it not").

49. The Mass of Indulgences.

50. The Iliad, Book Twenty-Three, lines 225-226:

But heavier Fates on Hector's Corse attend,
Saved from the Flames, for hungry Dogs to rend.

From Alexander Pope's translation.

51. Louis XIII, King of France 1601-1643.

Chapter Thirteen

1. This verse actually reads, "and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote against another."

2. See chapter nine, note # 46.

3. Source unknown.

4. Individual unknown.

5. Source unknown.

6. Unknown.

7. From Act one, scene one.

8. Reference unknown.

9. See chapter seven, note # 17.

10. Matthew 16:23.

11. Acts 19:14.

12. Source unknown, all Defoe says is that it is famous, so it was likely to have been in print.

13. Little Gaddesden is a parish in the country of Hertfordshire. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.2.

14. See chapter eleven, note # 28.

15. There are several "Monks" listed in the Dictionary of National Biography, but none are a very good match.

16. Individual unknown.

17. Miguel de Molinos 1628-1696.

18. A book by Molinos that espoused the beliefs of the Quietist sect. See chapter thirteen, note #19.

19. Said author unknown.

20. Quietism: A form of religious mysticism (originated prior to 1675, by Molinos, a Spanish priest), consisting in passive devotional contemplation with extinction of the will and withdrawal from all things of the senses; hence, any form of mysticism in which such principles are enjoyed. OED, p.26. Thus the Quietists are those who follow the teachings of Molinos.

21. To attempt the impossible. OED, p.312.

22. Source unknown, all we know is that it was it was published.

23. Individual unknown.

24. Source unknown.

25. Individual unknown.

26. The DNB has several possibilities, approximately four, but it is likely that this person is not in the Dictionary.

27. Individual unknown.

28. With minute exactness, to the smallest particular. OED, p.159.

29. Without any day being specified (for reassembling, reassumption of business, trial of a person or cause, etc.); indefinitely. OED, p.510.

30. II Kings 20:1.

31. Actually the verse reads, "Behold your house should be left unto you desolate."

32. Actually this verse reads, "There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down."

33. The Josephus here is the Jewish historian Josephus Flavious (AD 37-c100); however I am unable to locate the discussion on the apparition in the temple.

34. Individual unknown.

35. Alaric sacked Rome in 410 A.D. and Rome was again sacked and plundered by the Vandal Gaeseric in 455. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p.934.

36. The Visigoths, the Vandals, and Odacer's followers (a German ruler who founded the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 934.

37. Teutonic tribe from Hungary whose existence is known of as early as 200 A.D. The Early Empires of Central Asia.

38. Also of Germanic descent, there were two groups of Goths: The Visigoths (West Goths) in Rumania and the Ostragoths who inhabited Southern Russia. The Early Empires of Central Asia.

39. A buffoon, clown, or a merry-andrew. OED, p.171.

40. Source unknown.

41. Spelled Reigate, it is a borough market-town in the county of Surrey. Surrey is an inland county bounded on the north by the river Thames, which separates it from Middlesex and the south-eastern extremity of Buckinghamshire, on the north-west by Berkshire, on the west by Hampshire, on the south by Sussex, and on the east by Kent. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.4.

42. Individual unknown, all Defoe says is that he knows this man.

43. Individual unknown, all Defoe says is that he knows this man.

44. Source unknown.

45. Actually the verses read, "What, my son? and what, the son of my womb? and what, the son of my vows?/ Give not thy strength unto women, or thy ways to that which destroyeth kings." Proverbs 31:2-3.

46. Although the DNB lists seven possibilities, the two best candidates are 1) Will Gibbons, M.D. (1649-1728) Vol.7; or 2) Will Gostling (1696-1777) antiquarian Vol.8, p.266.

Chapter Fourteen

1. While crossing the strait which separates Europe from Asia, the girl, whose name was Helle, slipped and fell in to the water. She was drowned and the strait was named for her: the Sea of Helle, the Hellespont. Mythology, p.118.

2. Story unknown.

3. Probably Lucian of Samosata (b. circa A.D. 120) author. He was probably Aramaic, not Greek.

4. In central Asia Minor, southwest of Antioch, it was an archbishopric. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.27.

5. Literally translated, this means Lucian of the Dead Sea. Who this individual was is unknown.

6. Prophet, d. 632.

7. Variant plural of pea. OED, p.404.

8. A name given to some species of vetch. OED, p.639.

9. Source unknown.

10. I suppose that Defoe is talking about the story of Gabriel coming to visit Mahomet in his sleep. Gabriel sets Mahomet upon, depending where you read the story, an ass that takes him to the temple. At the temple he climbs the "Ladder of Light" up to heaven. Once in heaven, he progresses through the seven levels with Gabriel as his guide. Finally he meets God and is told things that become basic parts of his religion, Islam. The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet. p.55-67.

11. A martyr (feast day, April 23) d. 496. There are several dubious elements surrounding his name, such

as his visit to Britain. His connection to the dragon may have evolved from the pagan Perseus myth. The only historical element is his martyrdom. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.6, p.354. Mention of St. George's miracle is on page 135 of Tournefort's *Voyage into the Levant*.

12. "Defoe...then gave at greater length a contemporary sham form the Greek island Scyros, freely adapting it from John Ozell's translation of Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's *Voyage into the Levant* ([London, 1718] I, 337-338). Defoe and the Supernatural, p.83.

13. A group of greek islands, of which Skyros is a member.

14. The eastern part of the Mediterranean, with its islands and the countries adjoining. OED, p.861.

15. One who promotes or countenances schism or breach of external unity in the Church. OED, p.620.

16. This may be meant rather as a generic term that as an actual title of a book.

17. See chapter seven, note # 36.

18. "Defoe reported...the appearance of Christ to St. Peter at Rome, an apparition taken from a sermon of Richard Smith--a sermon which Defoe reprinted later that same year in his *New Family Instructor* (p.122-123)" (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.83).

19. Richard Smith D.D. (1500-1563). DNB, Vol.18, p.509-10.

20. Nicholas Ridley (1500?-1555) Bishop of London. DNB Vol.16, p.1172-6.

21. Hugh Latimer D.D. (1485?-1555) Bishop of Worcester. DNB, Vol.11, p.612-20.

22. Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) Archbishop of Canterbury. DNB, Vol.6, p.619-31.

23. (College Hill) After the death of Richard Whittington in 1423, the executors of his estate obtained a charter from King Henry VI, for the foundation of a College of Priests and an almshouse close to St Michael Paternoster in College Hill. The two were jointly known as Whittington College, and when the college of priests was suppressed at the Reformation, the almshouse

(administered by the Mercers Company) kept on the name. The London Encyclopedia, p.962.

24. That which Christ observed in Rome was Rome, and also Christ observed Peter in Rome; therefore Peter was in Rome.

25. St. Abdias of Babylon: legendary first bishop of Babylon. He was appointed by the apostles Simon and Jude. He is possibly the author of a collection of legends about the apostles. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.1, p.14.

26. Why do you not answer inheritor, of heretics, my little heretic?

27. For you and me.

28. Loudon is a city in the Anjou region across the Loire from Chinon. Atlas of Medieval and Modern History, p.17.

29. This story is about the apparent possession of several of the nuns, and the nunnery itself, at the Ursuline convent in Loudon in October of 1632. Father Grandier, the parish priest, had managed to offend the Ursulines, Carmalites, and several other conservative Catholic groups in the area both professionally and personally. His actions ranged from a sexual affair with a young girl who was related to one of Granier's enemies, to restricting the residents from going to confession to anyone else but him, to rejecting the sexual advances of the Prioress, Jeanne des Anges, at the Convent. The prioress and the priest concocted several pranks that caused some of the nuns to believe that they were being haunted. The priest, Canon Mignon, began to spread the word that they were possessed by devils, not merely apparitions, and that Grandier was the sorcerer who had caused everything. Eventually, Grandier was burned at the stake for witchcraft. The Devils of Loudon.

30. "In 1570...Ludvig Lavater, in his *De Spectris*, devoted several chapters to Romanish impostures, with almost an entire chapter on the Jetzer fraud...The rather fully told story of Jetzer and the monks of Berne, a story which had appeared in book form and been told again and again, Defoe evidently took from the version authenticated and published by Gilbert Burnet in his *Some Letters* ([1708], pp.30-42)" (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.82 -3).

31. A city in central Switzerland. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.54.

32. The "Seraphic Saint" founder of the Order of Friars Minor. b.1182 (81?), d. October 3, 1226 (feast day, October 4). New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.6., p.28-31.

33. Founder and first general of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). b. Casa Torre of Loyola in 1491, d. Rome, July 3, 1556. (feast day, July 31) New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.7, p.354.

34. Abbot, monastic theologian, and Doctor of the Church. b. 1090, d. August 20, 1153. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.2., p.335. Source of the story is unknown.

35. St. Peter's Church. See chapter fourteen, note #40.

36. Happy.

37. Dutiful.

38. Saint (female).

39. Be well (or in good health).

40. Dr. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) Bishop of Salisbury. DNB, Vol.2, p.394-405.

41. Some Letters Containing an Account of What Seemed Most Remarkable in Travelling Through Switzerland, Italy, and Some Parts of Germany in the Years 1685 and 1686. Written by Dr. Burnet in 1687, p.63-117. However, the story of St. Bernard does not appear in the early editions. Rodney Baines mentions that it is in the 1708 edition, p.30-42. (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.83).

42. In the arms of death.

43. "Briefly related stories of angels appearing to St. Francis of Assisi and Ignatius Loyola, and the appearance of Loyola himself to his disciple Leonard Kessel of Cologne, Defoe took piecemeal and almost verbatim from Henry Wharton's polemic Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome (1688)" (Defoe and the Supernatural, p.83).

44. Perhaps Lawrence Surius a Carthusian spiritual writer. b. 1522, d. 1578. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.13., p.820.

45. Unable to locate in the writings of Surius.

46. Surius in note to Bonaventure in the Life of Saint Francis.

47. See chapter fourteen, note #43.

48. In the province of Lorriane, Cologne is a city that sits on the Rhône River. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.54.

49. Benedictine, Archbishop, b. 909, d. 988 (feast day, May 19). In 940 [some sources say 942 others 943] King Edmund made him Abbot of Glastonbury. St. Dunstan used the funds to enlarge the Church and Monastery, as well as their book collection. [There is no mention here of him flying from the Tor as a boy] New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.4., p.1107.

50. Glastonbury Tor is the hill that overlooks the city of Glastonbury. It is thought that King Arthur may have been interred on the island. Glastonbury, itself, is a market-town in the county of Somerset. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.2.

51. A maritime county, bounded on the north-west by the Bristol Channel, on the south-west by Devonshire, on the south-east by Dorsetshire, on the east by Wiltshire, and on the north-east by Gloucestershire. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.4.

52. The historical story says that while Ignatius was defending the castle of Pomplona against King Francis I of France, Ignatius was struck by a cannon shot, It wounded one leg and broke the other. He read Flas Sanctorum by James Voragraine and Vita Christi by Ludolph of Saxony while convalescing and vowed to go to the Holy Land because he was inspired by these two books. He took his vows of chastity before reaching Monserrat. [There is no mention of St. Peter in this account] New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.7., p.355.

53. There is account of this in Butler's Lives of the Saints (V.4, p.22-31); however Defoe probably took this from the same source as in note #26 of this chapter.

54. Individual unknown.

55. Story unknown.

56. He was a Roman deacon and martyr, d. approximately 258. (feast day, August 10). New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.8., p.566.

57. The Oxford English Dictionary says that a deponent is one who deposes or makes a deposition under oath; one who gives written testimony as evidence in a court of justice or for other purpose (p.480). So Defoe's phrase probably means that this witness does not say. Perhaps it is something equivalent to the phrase, "taking the Fifth" (as in invoking the Fifth Amendment from the Constitution).

58. Dominican spirituality is theocentric, Christological, contemplative, monastic, priestly, apostolic, penitential, and doctrinal. The Order of Friar Preachers (Dominicans) is made up of: the first order, fathers and lay brothers; the second order, contemplative nuns; and the third order in two parts 1) the conventional third order and 2) lay territories. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.4, p.971-974.

59. Franciscan spirituality, also called "seraphic spirituality" emphasizes Christian perfection through the love of God. St. Francis also wanted his followers to live in poverty, like Jesus on Earth. The Order consists of three independent communities: 1) Friars Minor, 2) Friars Minor Conventional, 3) Friars Minor Capuchin. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.6., p.37-8.

60. The Franciscans were of the opinion that "the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original sin. The [Dominican's]...opinion was this: that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam be; so that the privilege belongeth only to Christ, to be conceived without original sin" (The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, V.4, p.167).

61. Fault.

62. To cause (the body, the flesh, etc.) to waste or wear away, esp. by fasting. OED, p.154.

63. Virgin and martyr (feast day, December 4) legend is of Egyptian origin. Her information dates back to the 7th century. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.2., p.86.

64. Pope Julius II: pontificate November 1, 1503 until February 2, 1513. New Catholic Encyclopedia, V.8., p.52.

65. Reference unknown.

66. Further information unknown.

67. Obs. form of Brahmin, Brahmin: A member of the highest or priestly caste among the Hindus. OED, p.477.

68. Story unknown.

69. Cochin-China a region of south Indo-China. The Times Concise Atlas of World History, p.160.

70. There is no mention of the Devil in Borri's book: Cochin-China.

71. Christoforo Borri 1583-1642 wrote Cochin-China Containing Many Rarities of that Country in 1633.

72. It is found good (or approved).

Chapter Fifteen

1. Obs. form of Hypo (OED p.583). Hypo: [Abbreviation of Hypochondria] morbid depression of spirits. OED, p.569.

2. Reference unknown.

3. Reference unknown.

4. Revelations 12:3.

5. Revelations 13:1.

6. A nickname for a mariner or sailor, esp. a common sailor. Now rare or arch. OED, p.645.

7. Hydra: A thing, person, or body of persons compared to the Lernaean hydra in its baneful or destructive character, its multifarious aspect, or the difficulty of its extirpation. OED, p.525. Pater: two definitions in combination work here for this word 1) A priest, a monk and 2) Familiarly used for father. OED, p.335. Together this compound probably means something like 'father of destruction.'

8. The DNE lists two possible candidates 1) Zachary Mayne (1631-1694) a religious writer (Vol.13, p.

1678) or 2) Zachary Mudge (1694-1769) divine (Vol.13, p.1157).

9. There are two strong possibilities for this from the DNB: 1) George Dodington (1691-1762) Baron Melcombe Vol.5, p.1071-75; or 2) George Douglas (d. 1741) 4th Baron of Mordington Vol.5, p.1202-3.

10. Literally goodbye, be strong, or be well. Used here probably as "Hail Mary."

11. See this chapter, note # 7 definition two, in reference to 'our Father.'

12. Takes its name from the hospital for leper women which was rebuilt as St James's Palace. The oldest of London's royal parks, it extends to about 90 acres with The Mall as the northern boundary and Birdcage Walk as the southern. The London Encyclopedia, p.716.

13. Source unknown.

14. Neat, trim, spruce in spruce in dress or appearance. Of mental facilities: quick, ready, smart. OED, p.791. Perhaps a personification of the word in a derogatory tone.

15. To lie, practice deception; to evade a duty, malingering. OED, p.366.

16. "Defoe may have built it up from a hint in Richard Bovet's *Pandemonium* [p.122], which relates how Mr. Edmund Ansty's horse was frightened by the Devil in the shape of a 'huge Bear' with 'a pair of very large flaming Eyes'" Defoe and the Supernatural, p.85.

17. An accumulation or development of wind in the stomach or bowels. OED, p.1027.

18. A little donkey. OED, p.418.

19. Spelled Dorking, a market-town in Surrey. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.4. For more information on Surrey please see chapter 13, note # 45.

20. Source unknown, however, Defoe does tell us that he remembers it, so it may have been popular.

21. The Topographical Dictionary of England lists a Cobham Down that is a heath near Surrey, but no Cottman Dean. V.4.

22. Source unknown.

23. Source unknown, although it may be published, since Defoe mentions that it is "upon Record."

24. Town unknown.

25. A maritime county bounded on the east by the North Sea, on the north by Norfolk, on the west by Cambridge, and on the south by Essex. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.4.

26. A half-door, gate, or wicket with an open space above; the lower half of a divided door, which may be closed while the upper half is open. OED, p.2.

27. Sources unknown, however they sound like popular tales.

28. An inland county bounded on the south, south-west, and south-east by Berkshire, on the east by Buckinghamshire, on the north-east by Northamptonshire, on the north and northwest by Warwickshire, and on the west by Gloucestershire. Topographical Dictionary of England, V.3.

29. Source unknown.

30. Instigated by the Jesuits, the Ireland Massacre was a rebellion of Irish Catholics against English Protestants. An Account of the Bloody Massacre in Ireland.

31. Source unknown.

32. In the area of Korke, the Bandon Bridge was the site of a Catholic rebellion against the English Protestants November 23, 1642. A Certain and True Relation of a Great and Glorious Victory Obtained by the Protestant Party in Ireland.

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APPENDIX A: INDEX OF MATERIALS AND STORIES COVERED

- I. Title Page
- II. Preface
- III. Table of Contents
- IV. Introduction
 - A. What Defoe will and will not discuss.
 - B. Story of young Atheistic man at Cambridge ordered to repent by a voice.
- V. Chapter One
 - A. Apparitions in Antiquity.
 - B. Miltonic references.
 - C. Biblical references: specifically, though not exclusively, from Genesis.
- VI. Chapter Two
 - A. Of angels: specifically Biblical references.
- VII. Chapter Three
 - A. Of the Devil in human shape.
- VIII. Chapter Four
 - A. Angelic/Superior Spirits.
 - B. Possibilities of Apparitions inhabiting other planets.
 - C. Biblical references.
 - D. Story of Julius Cæsar.
- IX. Chapter Five
 - A. Departed unembodied souls.
- X. Chapter Six
 - A. How the spirits appear and how they proceed.

- B. Story of Owke Mouraski: a spirit who followed a man during his travels through Ireland and Norway. The spirit admits to having taken four different forms during the length of his trip in order to keep from frightening the traveler.
- C. Story of Hinds the robber who, while during a robbery in the woods, a spirit warns him of his fate with a halter (indicating he will be hanged) and other tokens of his impending doom.
- D. Story of a Nobleman who leaves his house stocked with his valuables and with his steward in charge. The steward believed that robbers were going to break in because both the and another of his staff dreamt of it. The local padre sent reinforcements, but after several days, recalled the extra security. After the extra men left, a band of robbers, who had been staking out the house, broke in. A vision of an old man preceded them in every room, causing hysteria and fright among the robbers. The vision turned to a monster at the same time as the steward's men threw hand grenades down the chimney; thereby scaring the band of robbers out of the house.
- E. Story of King James of Scotland loosing in battle after a vision had warned him not to go.

XI. Chapter Seven

- A. What would happen if the souls of the departed could visit the Earth.
- B. Story of a murderer on trial who sees the ghost of his victim.
- C. Story of a man who is haunted from England to the Continent and back again by the ghost of the man that he murdered.

XII. Chapter Eight

- A. What kind of spirits really do appear.
- B. Story of a young woman who is going to meet a man to have an illicit affair, but she is

stopped in a field by a spirit in the figure of the local parson.

- C. Story of a man whose second wife tries to disinherit his son by his first marriage while the son is out of the country. Every time she tries to make her husband legalize her children as his heirs, an apparition of his son appears and stops the proceedings.

XIII. Chapter Nine

- A. More relations of stories with commentary on the differences between good and bad spirits.
- B. Story of an apprentice who is left in a counting room while his superior eats supper. However, his superior sees him in the dinning hall when he is supposedly downstairs counting. The superior is confounded since the apprentice obviously cannot be two places at once. The story of the apprentice continues with his appointment to work in America. While there, he sees an apparition of his brother, who we find out had been mortally wounded in a duel and whose appearance to the brother in America coincides with the moment that he died from his wounds.
- C. References to ghosts in classical antiquity (i.e. the Odyssey, Aeneid, Illiad, also to Brutus and Alexander).
- D. Mention of the sorceress Jacquelina.
- E. Quotation from Mr. Aubrey's story about a lady, who died from Small Pox who visited her best friend and chastised her from not coming to see her in her sickness and warned her friend about her own impending death.
- F. Mention of story of Sir John Burrough's son, Cashio, who is haunted by his dead Italian Mistress.
- G. Story of King Charles VII of France who was riding in the forest in Mans when he was stopped by a specter who told him that he had been betrayed.

XIV. Chapter Ten

- A. The differing natures of apparitions and how to act towards them.
- B. Story (from Mr. Aubrey) of Cashio Burroughs who had an affair with the Duke of Florence's Mistress. She commits suicide after Cashio abandons her to the Duke's wrath. Her spirit haunts Cashio in London and predicts his death in a duel.
- C. Story of a religious lady who is harassed by the Devil.
- D. Story of the Devil threatening to burn down a farmer's house, barn, and stock.

XV. Chapter Eleven

- A. Apparitions in dreams.
- B. Biblical references.
- C. Story of a man who dreams he robbed a small child.
- D. Story of a gentleman who courts one woman, but eventually marries another. The first lady dies. The gentleman's wife runs off with another man. The gentleman sees the first woman in a dream, where she tells him that his wife is dead.
- E. Story of a man who has lewd dreams, but always wakes up before he goes too far.
- F. Story of a gentleman who dreams that his dead wife tells him to remarry and the details of how he will meet his future second wife.
- G. Story of Captain Roger Thomas who dreamt that a man called for him to awaken. When he did, he saved his ship from running aground.
- H. Story of a man who is arrested, but he conceals his identity and escapes. Later he dreams that two men come to his door to arrest him. Two men do arrive and arrest him just as he had dreamt.
- I. Story of a young gentleman who wants to join the army against his mother's wishes. He

dreams that his father, who is dead, tells him not to go. If he does go, he will not live more than three years. The young man dies in the third year.

J. Story of two brothers who quarrel over a mistress. They agree to duel over her. Both, separately, see an apparition of their father and leave off their feud. They decide to go see their father, who tells them he had had a dream about the two brothers arguing and preparing to duel.

K. Story of a woman with a wildly jealous husband. He accuses her of carrying on with many men. The husband's kinsman rebukes the husband for his behavior toward his wife. The husband accuses his kinsman of being her lover. At this, the cousin leaves London. Meanwhile, the husband throws his wife out of the house. The cousin sees an apparition of the wronged wife begging for his help. The husband sees an apparition of the cousin who admonishes him. The husband repents, the wife forgives him, she and returns.

L. Story a man who converses with an apparition he thinks is really a friend of his. The apparition warns him of the Fire of London.

M. Mention of the story of a child whose inheritance is denied him. An apparition appears to a man to right the wrongs done to the child. The man is examined by Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

XVI. Chapter Twelve

A. About ghosts who appear when someone dies.

B. Story of a lady who sees an apparition of her husband, a captain at sea, who is on a voyage from Virginia. He has an accident at the same time as her visitation.

C. Story of Sir John O--ne's wife who is too free with their money. An apparition visits the wife's maid at their London home, telling her family secrets and warning her that her lady will be destitute if she does not stop her spending. Simultaneously, a vision visits the wife, who warns of the same thing.

- D. Story of the ghost of the Duke of Buckingham's father, Sir George Villiers, visiting a former acquaintance to have him warn the Duke that if he didn't change his wicked ways he would be murdered. (Story left off and continued in F.).
- E. Story of James Haddock of Ireland whose wife, Eleanor Welch, had remarried after his death and had wronged his heir in a lease against him. James Haddock's ghost pursued Francis Taverner to convince him to help restore the property to his son. (See M. Chapter Thirteen).
- F. Story of the Duke of Buckingham's son continued.
- G. Lord Claredon's version of the Duke of Buckingham's son.
- H. Story of Dr. Tuberville's sister who had died and left her children in the care of her husband. They were wronged in a settlement.
- I. Story of Reverend Dr. Scot who was visited by an apparition in his drawing room. This specter told him that a gentleman, the ghost's grandson, was about to lose his rightful inheritance (to greedy cousins) because of a lost lease. The Spirit instructs Dr. Scot on where and how to find the hidden lease. Dr. Scot goes to the ghost's grandson, who has had a dream that a stranger would come and find the lost lease. Dr. Scot finds the lease hidden in the secret bottom of an old trunk.

XVII. Chapter Thirteen

- A. States that ghosts are not souls and instructs on how to behave toward them.
- B. Story of an evil man who is always jolly.
- C. Story of a girl who is possessed by the Devil.
- D. Story of a man who chased an apparition that would not speak to him until it was addressed.
- E. Story of a ghost who haunts a house near Rygate at Surrey. When a man attempts to manhandle the ghost, it throws him yard.

- F. Story of a man who tries to kiss a lady in public, but sees the frowning face of his mother over the lady's shoulder.

XVIII. Chapter Fourteen

- A. About sham apparitions.
- B. Story about St. Francis.
- C. Story about St. Ignatius.
- D. Story about Jetzer.
- E. Story of Zachariah Ma----, who was so ugly that people mistook him for the Devil.

XIX. Chapter Fifteen

- A. Imaginary apparitions.
- B. Story of man and his servant, Jarvis, who had been frightened while trying to cross a bridge on horse back. His master said it was the Devil, but Jarvis said it was an ass.
- C. Story of school-boy prank in Darking, Surrey. Some boys carried around lanterns and convinced the local population it was the ghost of a lady.
- D. Story of a country gentleman who convinced a town that a ghost indicated that there was a hidden treasure in an old abandoned monastery that he wished removed from his property. He told them that he would let them tear it down in search of the treasure if they promised to haul off the lumber and rubbish.
- E. Story of the peddler and his pack.
- F. Story of massacre in Ireland.

STORY TYPES

Defoe identifies three types of stories: good spirits, evil spirits, and fake apparitions (i.e. frauds, imagined, and folktales).

I. Stories of Good Apparitions

Young Atheistic man at Cambridge ordered to
repent by a voice. (Introduction)

Julius Cæsar. (Chapter 4)

Owke Mouraski: a spirit who followed a man during
his travels through Ireland and Norway. The
spirit admits to having taken four different
forms during the length of his trip in order
to keep from frightening the traveler.
(Chapter 6)

Hinds the robber who, while during a robbery in the
woods, a spirit warns him of his fate with a
halter (indicating he will be hanged) and
other tokens of his impending doom.
(Chapter 6)

A Nobleman who leaves his house stocked with his
valuables and with his steward in charge. The
steward believed that robbers were going to
break in because both he and another of his
staff dreamt of it. The local padre sent
reinforcements, but after several days,
recalled the extra security. After the extra
men left, a band of robbers, who had been
staking out the house, broke in. A vision of
an old man preceded them in every room, causing
hysteria and fright among the robbers. The
vision turned to a monster at the same time as
the steward's men threw hand grenades down the
chimney; thereby scaring the band of robbers
out of the house. (Chapter 6)

King James of Scotland loosing in battle after a
vision had warned him not to go. (Chapter 6)

A young woman who is going to meet a man to have an
illicit affair, but she is stopped in a field
by a spirit in the figure of the local parson.
(Chapter 8)

Man whose second wife tries to disinherit his son by
his first marriage while the son is out of the
country. Every time she tries to make her
husband legalize her children as his heirs, an
apparition of his son appears and stops the
proceedings. (Chapter 8)

An apprentice who is left in a counting room while
his superior eats supper. However, his superior
sees him in the dinning hall when he is
supposedly downstairs counting. The superior is
confounded since the apprentice obviously
cannot be two places at once. The story of the
apprentice continues with his appointment to
work in America. While there, he sees an
apparition of his brother, who we find out had
been mortally wounded in a duel and whose
appearance to the brother in America coincides

- with the moment that he died from his wounds.
(Chapter 9)
- Quotation from Mr. Aubrey's story about a lady, who died from Small Pox who visited her best friend and chastised her from not coming to see her in her sickness and warned her friend about her own impending death. (Chapter 9)
- Gentleman who courts one woman, but eventually marries another. The first lady dies. The gentleman's wife runs off with another man. The gentleman sees the first woman in a dream, where she tells him that his wife is dead.
(Chapter 11)
- Gentleman who dreams that his dead wife tells him to remarry and the details of how he will meet his future second wife. (Chapter 11)
- Captain Roger Thomas who dreamt that a man called for him to awaken. When he did, he saved his ship from running aground. (Chapter 11)
- Man who is arrested, but he conceals his identity and escapes. Later he dreams that two men come to his door to arrest him. Two men do arrive and arrest him just as he had dreamt.
(Chapter 11)
- A young gentleman who wants to join the army against his mother's wishes. He dreams that his father, who is dead, tells him not to go. If he does go, he will not live more than three years. The young man dies in the third year.
(Chapter 11)
- Two brothers who quarrel over a mistress. They agree to duel over her. Both, separately, see an apparition of their father and leave off their feud. They decide to go see their father, who tells them he had had a dream about the two brothers arguing and preparing to duel.
(Chapter 11)
- A woman with a wildly jealous husband. He accuses her of carrying on with many men. The husband's kinsman rebukes the husband for his behavior toward his wife. The husband accuses his kinsman of being her lover. At this, the cousin leaves London. Meanwhile, the husband throws his wife out of the house. The cousin sees an apparition of the wronged wife begging for his help. The husband sees an apparition of the cousin who admonishes him. The husband repents, the wife forgives him, she and returns. (Chapter 11)
- Man who converses with an apparition he thinks is really a friend of his. The apparition warns him of the Fire of London. (Chapter 11)

A lady who sees an apparition of her husband, a captain at sea, who is on a voyage from Virginia. He has an accident at the same time as her visitation. (Chapter 12)

Sir John O--ne's wife who is too free with their money. An apparition visits the wife's maid at their London home, telling her family secrets and warning her that her lady will be destitute if she does not stop her spending. Simultaneously, a vision visits the wife, who warns of the same thing. (Chapter 12)

The ghost of the Duke of Buckingham's father, Sir George Villiers, visiting a former acquaintance to have him warn the Duke that if he didn't change his wicked ways he would be murdered. (Chapter 12)

James Haddock of Ireland whose wife, Eleanor Welch, had remarried after his death and had wronged his heir in a lease against him. James Haddock's ghost pursued Francis Taverner to convince him to help restore the property to his son. (Chapter 12)

Lord Claredon's version of the Duke of Buckingham's son. (Chapter 12)

Dr. Tuberville's sister who had died and left her children in the care of her husband. They were wronged in a settlement. (Chapter 12)

Reverend Dr. Scot who was visited by an apparition in his drawing room. This specter told him that a gentleman, the ghost's grandson, was about to lose his rightful inheritance (to greedy cousins) because of a lost lease. The spirit instructed Dr. Scot on where and how to find the hidden lease. Dr. Scot went to the ghost's grandson, who has had a dream that a stranger would come and find the lost lease. Dr. Scot finds the lease hidden in the secret bottom of an old trunk. (Chapter 12)

A ghost who haunts a house near Rygate at Surrey. When man attempts to manhandle the ghost, it throws him across the yard. (Chapter 13)

Man who tries to kiss a lady in public, but sees the frowning face of his mother over the lady's shoulder. (Chapter 13)

II. Stories of Evil Spirits or the Devil

King Charles VII of France who was riding in the forest in Mans when he was stopped by a specter who told him that he had been betrayed. (Chapter 9)

(from Mr. Aubrey) of Cashio Burroughs who had an

affair with the Duke of Florence's Mistress.
She commits suicide after Cashio abandons her
to the Duke's wrath. Her spirit haunts Cashio
in London and predicts his death in a duel.

(Chapter 10)

Religious lady who is harassed by the Devil.

(Chapter 10)

The Devil threatening to burn down a farmer's house,
barn, and stock. (Chapter 10)

Man who dreams he robbed a small child. (Chapter 11)

Man who has lewd dreams, but always wakes up before
he goes too far. (Chapter 11)

Girl who is possessed by the Devil. (Chapter 13)

III. Stories of Fake Apparitions

Murderer on trial who sees the ghost of his victim.
(Chapter 7)

Man who is haunted from England to the Continent and
back again by the ghost of the man that he
murdered. (Chapter 7)

Man who chased an apparition that would not speak to
him until it was addressed. (Chapter 13)

St. Francis. (Chapter 14)

St. Ignatius. (Chapter 14)

Jetzer. (Chapter 14)

Zachariah Ma----, who was so ugly that people
mistook him for the Devil. (Chapter 14)

Man and his servant, Jarvis, who had been frightened
while trying to cross a bridge on horse back.
His master said it was the Devil, but Jarvis
said it was an ass. (Chapter 15)

School-boy prank in Dorking, Surrey. Some boys
carried around lanterns and convinced the local
population it was the ghost of a lady.
(Chapter 15)

Country gentleman who convinced a town that a ghost
indicated that there was a hidden treasure in
an old abandoned monastery that he wished
removed from his property. He told them that he
would let them tear it down in search of the
treasure if they promised to haul off the
lumber and rubbish. (Chapter 15)

The peddler and his pack. (Chapter 15)

The massacre in Ireland. (Chapter 15)

Daniel Defoe's *Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions*

TEXTUAL NOTES

TITLE PAGE DESCRIPTION

A N | E S S A Y | O N T H E | History and Reality | O F
| A P P A R I T I O N S . | B E I N G | An account of
what they are, and what | they are not; whence they come,
| and whence they come not. | A S A L S O | *How we may*
distinguish between the Ap- | *pparitions of Good and Evil*
Spirits, and | *how we ought to behave to them.* | W I T H
| A great Variety of Surprizing and Diverting | Examples,
never Publish'd before | [rule 85mm] | *By Death*
transported to th'Eternal Shore, | *Souls so remov'd*
revisit us no more: | *Engrossed with Joys of a Superior*
Kind, | *They leave the trifling Thoughts of Life behind.*
| [rule 85mm] | L O N D O N, Printed: And Sold by J.
R O B E R T S | In Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXVII.

"O B E R T S" (in Roberts) are in small capital letters.

The following lines are in red ink:

	Line
E S S A Y	2
A P P A R I T I O N S	6
An Account of what they are, and what	8
<i>How we may distinguish between the Ap-</i>	12
A great Variety of Surprizing and Diverting	16
[only these words] L O N D O N, J. R O B E R T S	22

The information on the title page is enclosed in two sets of lines that are not connected that create a "double box" effect. The inside "box" measurements are: 88mm across the top, 86mm across the bottom, 157mm down the left side, and 157mm down the right side. The outside "box" measurements are: 94mm across the top, 95mm across the bottom, 163mm down the left side, and 161mm down the right side.

FORMAT STATEMENT FORMULA

8°: ¶² a⁴ B-2B⁸ 2C⁴ 2D² [\$4 signed (-2C³, 2C⁴, 2D²); 204 leaves, title page + blank page pp [10] [1]-395 [396] (misprint page 146 as 164).

TECHNICAL NOTES

Signature positions: B1 'a - gainst'
B2 'taken'
B3 'his - Antagonists'

Catchwords: All catchwords were complete and consistent except for the following:

119 Would] Nothing
273 has no catchword

Press figures: 7: a3^b B6^a F3^b H7^b L5^b O8^a Q8^a R7^b
T6^b U1^b A6^a
4: C8^b E8^a M6^a Y6^a
5: D8^a G3^b I1^b K1^b S8^b B7^b
8: I5^a

Apparent body size: page 2 = 80mm
page 101 = 80mm
page 202 = 80mm

Set: Unleaded (solid)
Type: 151 x 89 mm. (C5^b); Caslon (1720s) 79; 38 lines
Copper plates: before the title page and between the following pages: 100 - 101, 138 - 139, 236 - 237, 294 - 295, 370 - 371. The number of the page appears at the bottom of each plate.

OTHER NOTES

1) The Stationer's Company register reads, "John Watts: The Whole: March 21st 1726: Then Entered for his Copy An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions, being an Account of what they are, & what they are not, whence they come, & whence they come not as Also how we may distin: = guish between the apparitions of Good & Evil Spirits, & how we ought to behave to them, wth a Great Variety of surprizing & Diverting examples, never [word scratched out] published before.: Received Nine Books John Watts"

2) Emendations

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Error</u>	<u>Correction</u>	<u>Signature</u>	<u>MS Page</u>
1	thy	they	B6 ^b	12
1	ti.	it.	B8 ^b	16
5	Systems).	Systems).	E4 ^a	55
6	aga_n	again	G3 ^a	85
6	_o	so	G4 ^b	88
7	Chatities	Charities	H1 ^a	98
7	unbonnded	unbounded	I1 ^a	113
8	hat	that	K4 ^b	136
8	going.	going.	L6 ^a	155
8	itto	it too	L7 ^a	157
9	whichthey	which they	N3 ^a	181
11	so nmay	son may	P2 ^a	211

11	He	H E	P2 ^b	212
* 11	him?		Q7 ^a	237
12	Peices	pieces	T2 ^b	276
12	hi	his	U6 ^b	300
13	's' in 'was'	is askew	Y4 ^a	327
13	In	I N	Z2 ^b	340
15	the	they	2B4 ^a	375
15	un_er	**under	2B6 ^a	379
15	_t	it	2B6 ^a	379

*This sentence does not make grammatical sense ending in a question mark, but I don't know what the intended ending was.

**Not only is the "d" missing in the word "under," but also the "e" is broken. This appears in the line directly above the final mistake on the same page.

3) Register of copies examined:
University of Michiga; University of Colorado, Boulder;
University of Texas, Austin.

4) Other formats examined (microfilm copies):
BM [Call Number B801153.72.S]; BM [Call Number G.13147,
project #719.h.25.]

ILLUSTRATIONS

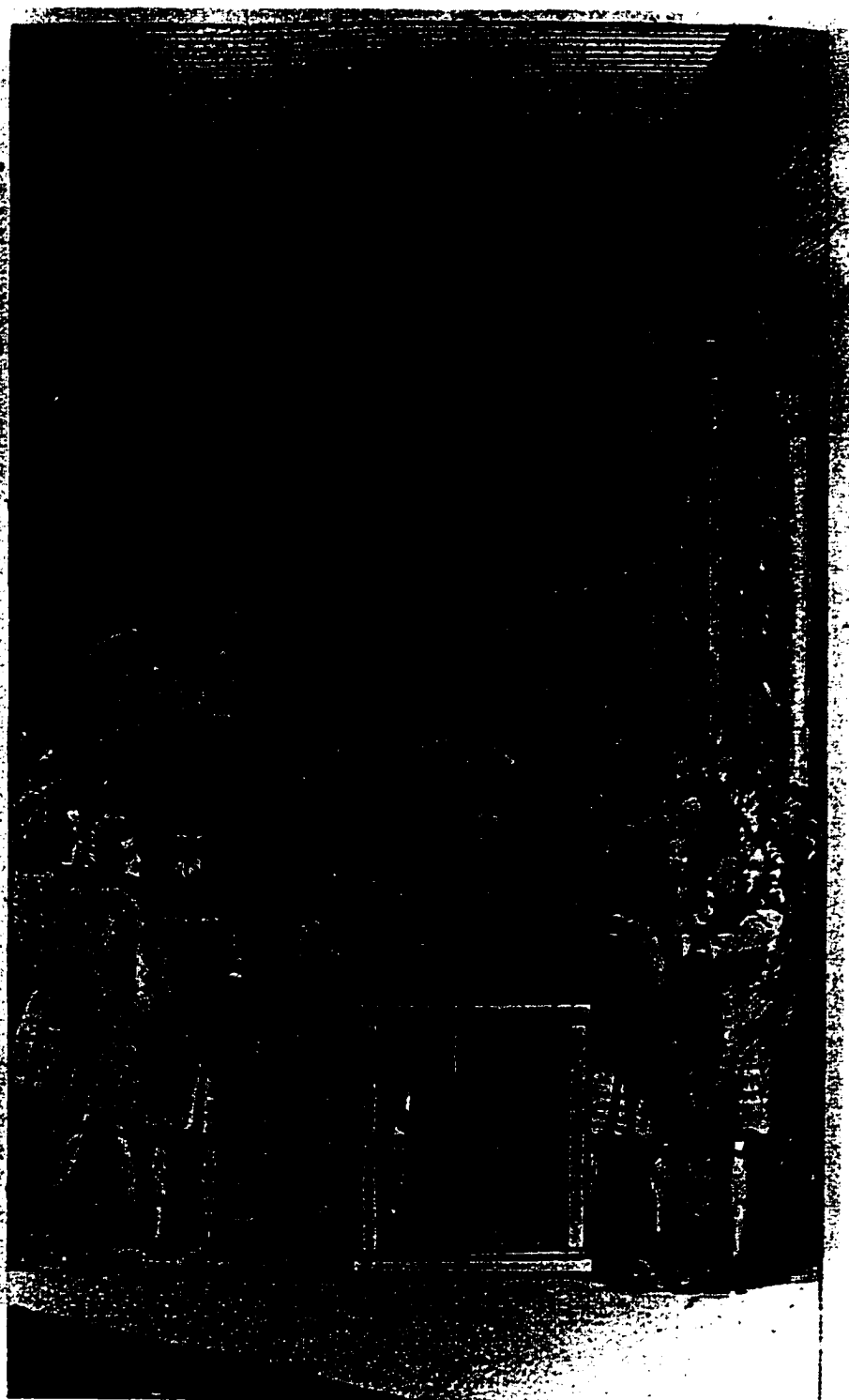
The following is a collection of all of the copper plates, including the frontispiece, found in an ideal copy of An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions from the first edition (1727). There are a total of six plates, including the frontispiece, and each depicts a secular story of an apparition found in the text.

The frontispiece shows a scene from the story of Caesar's ghost from Chapter Four. The first plate, found between pages 100 and 101, is a representation of the story of a murderer on trial who see a vision of his victim while on the stand from Chapter Seven. The second plate, found between pages 138 and 139, is from the story, in Chapter Eight, about a young woman who meets an apparition of her minister while on the way to meet her lover. The third is found in Chapter Eleven, between pages 236 and 237, and depicts the story of the two brothers who argue over the same mistress. The fourth plate, between pages 294 and 295 in Chapter Twelve, represents the story of Dr. Scot and the trunk with the fake bottom. The final plate, in Chapter Fifteen between pages 370 and 371, shows a scene from the story of a master who is frightened by a vision that he believes is the Devil and is later proven to be, by his servant Jarvis/Gervais to be a burrow.

1) The Frontispiece



2) Plate from 100 - 101



709

3) Plate from 138 - 139



Pag. 139.

I. Verghini.

4) Plate from 236 - 237



5) Plate from 294 - 295



6) Plate from 370 - 371



VITA

Kathleen Kincade was born in Georgia, but only lived there for about a month, so she has little recollection of the place. After moving around for most of her life, Kathleen received her bachelor's degree from the University of California at Riverside in English and receiving one of the first minors (Theater) that Riverside offered. She then, worked for several years in San Francisco for an industrial trade publisher as Compilations Editor. She came to Louisiana State University in 1991, received her master's degree from here in 1993, and hopes that this lengthy manuscript will enable her to earn her doctorate in time for Spring 1998 Commencement.


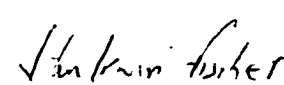
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Kathleen Louise Kincade

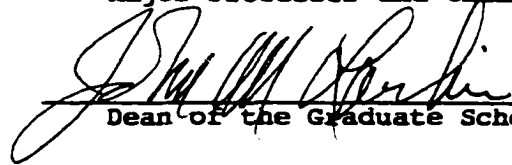
Major Field: English

Title of Dissertation: Daniel Defoe's An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions: A Critical Edition

Approved:

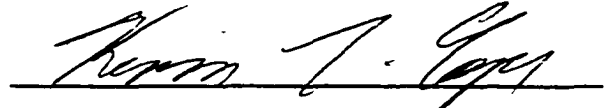
 

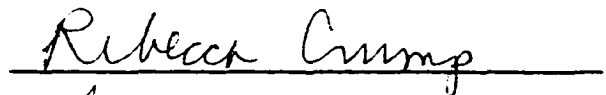
Major Professor and Chairman

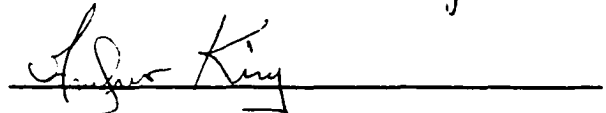


Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:



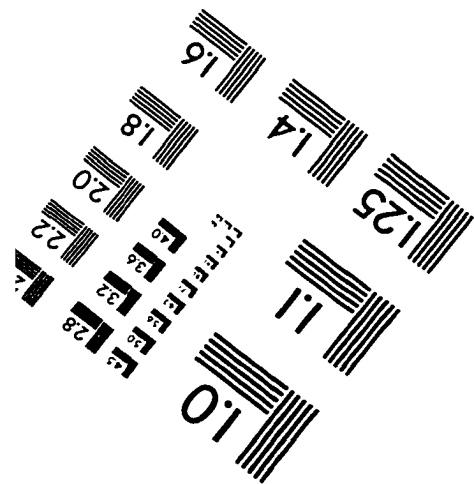
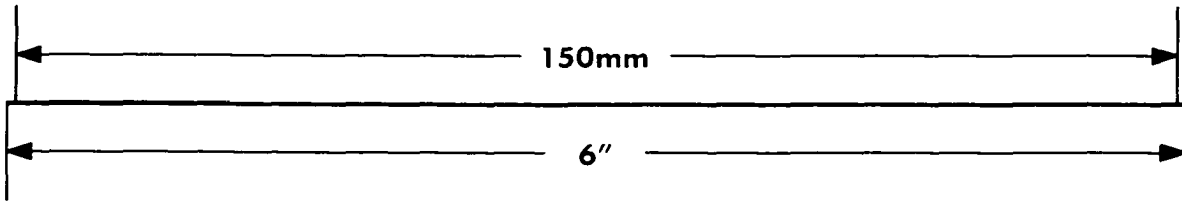
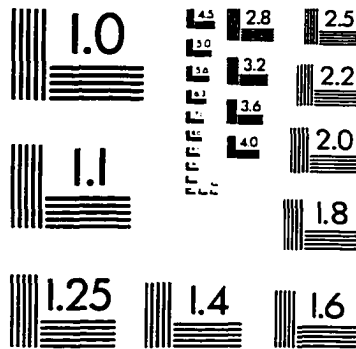
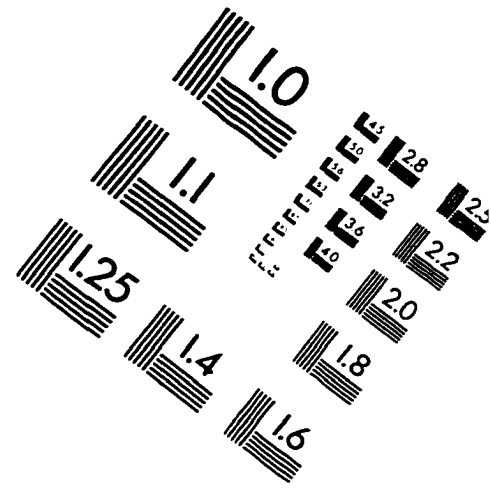
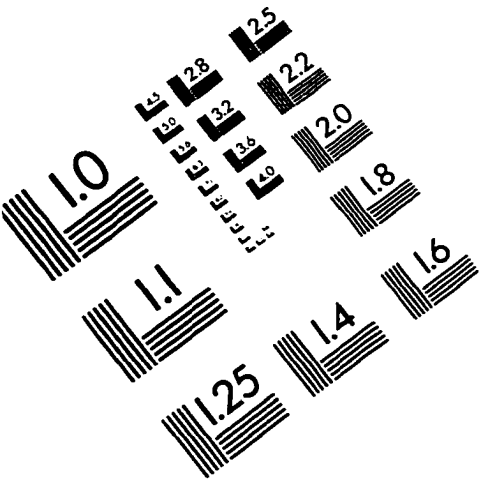




Date of Examination:

3-9-98

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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